

JOURNAL OF THE
EUROPEAN ĀYURVEDIC SOCIETY

Editors

RAHUL PETER DAS

RONALD ERIC EMMERICK

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Rudi Paul Labadie

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Arion Roşu

Volume 5 (1997)

Dr. Inge Wezler
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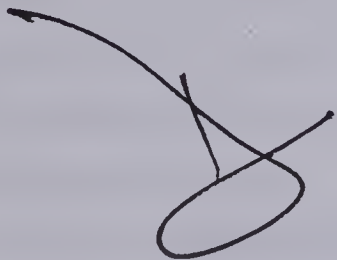
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The Study of Classical Indian Medicine in Germany *

RAHUL PETER DAS

Classical Indian medicine, or Āyurveda, has not figured prominently in the so-called mainstream of Indological studies in Germany. In fact, it has been on the fringe of Indian studies in the West in general, and it is only of late that it is, so to say, moving into the centre of interest. I shall not speculate on the reasons for these developments, but content myself with giving an outline of the historical development of the study of Āyurveda in Germany.

Of all countries in the West, it was Germany which traditionally laid the greatest emphasis on classical Indian studies. The German Indological tradition was heavily influenced by the tradition of classical philology, which concerned itself with Greek and Latin textual studies. That such text-based studies were the prime focus of interest is no wonder, for, unlike the French and the British, the Germans had no colonial ties with India. However, the French school of Indology too, though also nourished from different roots, was in many aspects similar to the German school, and there were numerous connections between the two. Paradoxically, classical Indian studies did not retain the same sort of prominence in Britain, in spite of very promising beginnings.

The German school of Indology was extremely influential right up to the middle of this century, and the American, Scandinavian and Dutch Indological traditions are directly related to the German philological tradition of Indian studies. It is only since the last few decades that a different method of study relying heavily on the methodology of the social sciences has gained prominence in the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian countries and in Holland. In Germany, however, the philological school of Indian studies still reigns paramount.

These introductory remarks were necessary to help in understanding the

* This is the mostly unchanged text of a lecture delivered at the Max Müller Bhavan (Goethe-Institut) in Calcutta on the 15th of January, 1997; footnotes with bibliographic data have been added. I am especially grateful to Dr. Klaus Karttunen for his help in the form of information on the work of many of the scholars mentioned; Prof. Dr. Claus Vogel too supplied some relevant details. Dr. George Baumann, Dr. Günter Grönbold and Dr. Gabriele Zeller helped me greatly in the verification of some bibliographic details.

particular focus of interest in Germany as regards classical Indian medicine. Viewed against this background, it is not surprising that the study of Indian medicine too has been chiefly philologically oriented.

Before I begin elaborating on this topic, I would like to draw attention to an important point which one often tends to overlook. It is something that is relevant for Sanskrit literature in general, though I shall only remark on it as relevant for Sanskrit medical literature. Today, we can with relatively little effort obtain a printed copy of the major and countless minor medical works in Sanskrit. In the last century things were not that easy. Many works had not been published; some were even unknown. And even of the works published many did not find their way to Europe. This is something that is often forgotten, but should be kept in mind. It helps us understand the conditions under which the early scholars in the West laboured, and also explains, at least in part, the directions their research took.

This is already very evident in the work of Franz Hessler, who was probably the first German to study Indian medicine in an academic context. Hessler, a Bavarian born in 1799, possessed a doctorate both in medicine as well as in the humanities. His medical dissertation, which he completed in Würzburg (Latinised: Wirceburgum) in 1830, was of course, as was usual in those days, in Latin, and was entitled *De antiquorum Hindorum medicina et scientiis physicis quae in Sanscritis operibus exstant*. I have not seen it and thus do not know its exact contents, but it obviously also deals with medicine in the Sanskrit texts then known. The work for which Hessler is best known, however, was published in several volumes between 1844 and 1855; it is a complete Latin translation of the *Suśrutasamhitā*,¹ the first of the major classical works to be printed, along with a commentary and notes in Latin.² When one considers that the first editions of this text were printed in India only at the beginning of the nineteenth century and had first to reach Europe, and that at that time there were very few aids to understand medical texts, whose language poses many problems not ordinarily met with in other Sanskrit

¹ *Sus'rutas. Āyurvēdas. Id est medicinae systema a venerabili D'hanvantare demonstratum a Suśruta discipulo compositum. Nunc primum ex Sanskrīta in Latinum sermonem vertit, introductionem, annotationes et rerum indicem adjecit Franciscus Hessler, Ferdinandus Enke: Erlanga 1844-1850 (three volumes).*

² *Commentarii et Annotationes in Suśrutae Āyurvēdam. A Francisco Hessler, Ferdinandus Enke: Erlanga 1852-1855 (two volumes).*

works, quite apart from their technical difficulties, then the complete word by word translation of such a voluminous work at that time is a stupendous achievement. I have used this translation often. To tell the truth, among all the translations in various languages I have consulted, I still consider it to be the best even after all this time, for the author has not tried to obfuscate unclear passages by mixing up later commentaries or his own explanations with the wording of the text, or, which is even worse, by attempting to smuggle modern medical vocabulary into his work. When a passage is unclear, Hessler sticks to a translation which is as literal as possible, and lets his reader do the interpreting. This is honesty which would have benefited many later translations.

Hessler continued to write on Indian medicine, and towards the end of the century (Hessler died in 1890) he wrote articles not only on the *Caraka-saṃhitā*, but also an article on the development and system of nature according to Gaṅgādhara in his commentary on this text,³ from which it follows that, though already in his eighties, he critically went through not only the voluminous *Carakasamhitā*, but also Gaṅgādhara's equally voluminous commentary. One is tempted to say that Hessler must have recognised the pivotal role of his contemporary Gaṅgādhara Sen Rāy (Bengali form of the name) (1798-1885) in the renewal and modernisation of Āyurveda in the last century, being thus one of the first to have done so, and all this from afar. However, at the end of his essay he makes a remark which to us today must seem astounding, namely that nothing is known about Gaṅgādhara, except that he must have lived in relatively ancient times because his manner of writing is still quite straightforward!⁴ This throws some light upon how difficult it must have been for Hessler to obtain relevant and correct information about India, assuming that he had at his disposal only an edition of Gaṅgādhara's commentary giving no information on its author.

Hessler's translation of the *Suśrutasamhitā* was extremely influential in his days. It was, for instance, an important source of knowledge for the French

³ 'Ueber Entwicklung und System der Natur nach *Gangādhara*, dem Scholiasten des *Tscharaka*', *Sitzungsberichte der mathematisch-physikalischen Classe der k.b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München* 14, 1884, 325-332.

⁴ 'Ueber das Zeitalter unseres Scholiasten gibt es keine nähere Bestimmung; da aber die Schreibart desselben noch eine ziemlich einfache ist, so wird wohl auch hier ein verhältnissmässig hohes Alter angenommen werden dürfen.'

scholars Gustave Liétard and Palmyr Cordier, who were among the foremost researchers on Āyurveda in the last century, and whose collected works Arion Roşu recently published in Paris.⁵ Though after Liétard and Cordier the study of Indian medicine dwindled to insignificance in France, their influence extended long enough to set the famous Jean Filliozat on his course of research.

In Germany too, Hessler's work was widely used. It is difficult to gauge its exact influence, though it probably played a major role in the composition of Friedrich (Latinised: Fridericus) Trendelenburg's dissertation on ancient Indian surgery *De veterum Indorum chirurgia*, which was published in Berlin (by Gustavus Schade) in 1866. Trendelenburg later went on to become a very famous surgeon, and several medical, particularly surgical, procedures still bear his name.

In any case, it seems pretty certain that Hessler's translation must have exerted some influence on the interest one of the greatest German Indologists took in Indian medicine, even though in his case this interest was quite clearly secondary to that in other branches of Indian studies, above all Vedic studies. I am of course speaking of Rudolph Roth, later Rudolph von Roth.

Otto Böhtlingk (later Otto von Böhtlingk) and Rudolph Roth's larger Sanskrit-German dictionary (*Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*) was published in St. Petersburg in seven volumes from 1855 to 1875. Though it attempted to utilise what was known of medical works in its days, a perusal of the list of works it mentions shows the difficulties the authors had to cope with, especially in the light of our present-day knowledge. Of the major medical texts only the *Suśrutasamhitā* could be utilised, in the form of old editions published in Calcutta. It was Roth who went through the text for the dictionary, and his personal copies of the *Suśrutasamhitā* are today kept in the Library of the University of Tübingen, where Roth was professor and head of the University Library. Apart from the *Suśrutasamhitā*, the medical portions of the *Śabdakalpadruma* were also consulted, and thus we also find some references to the *Bhāvaprakāśa* and the *Rājanighaṇṭu*. The list of works cited also contains the entries 'Mādhavakāra' and 'Vaidyaka', with no further details given. Since the compilers of the dictionary used not only printed editions, but also manu-

⁵ *Un demi-siècle de recherches āyurvédiques*. Gustave Liétard et Palmyr Cordier. *Travaux sur l'histoire de la médecine indienne. Documents réunis et présentés par Arion Roşu* (Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne 56), Collège de France, Institut de Civilisation Indienne: Paris 1989.

scripts, it may be that the references are to manuscripts, but I cannot say more on the subject. From volume 4 onwards, the *Śārṅgadharasamhitā* too has been cited.

In the smaller Sanskrit-German dictionary by Otto Böhtlingk (*Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung*), published in St. Petersburg from 1879 to 1889 in seven parts, the *Carakasamhitā* and the *Madanapālanighaṇṭu* have additionally been utilised in printed and manuscript form, as well as the *Cikitsāsaṅgraha* or *Cakradatta*, the *Rājanighaṇṭu* and the *Dhanvantari-nighaṇṭu* in the form of manuscripts, together with the *Āyurvedadarśana* attributed to Vāgbhata. It was mostly Roth who supplied the data from the medical texts for the smaller dictionary too. He also supplied the data from a work cited as 'Vaidyabhāṣya'; it is possible that this is identical with the work 'Vaidyaka' utilised for the larger Petersburg Dictionary.

Since the Petersburg Dictionaries have been the basis for several subsequent dictionaries in English including the dictionary of Monier-Williams, it is obvious why the large corpus of medical literature in general has continued to be for the most part neglected by the dictionaries of Sanskrit, even though of course individual texts have throughout been added to the textual basis. Though the many-volume Poona dictionary (*An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles*), which is still in the process of being published, represents a large leap as regards the mass of texts analysed, there are still huge gaps, and even important works like the *Cikitsāsaṅgraha*, Vaṅgasena's *Cikitsāsārasaṅgraha*, the *Yogarātnākara*, the *Bālatantra*, the *Yogaśataka* and the *Yogarātnasamuccaya*, to mention just a few, do not figure in the list of consulted works mentioned. Moreover, the voluminous and very important commentatorial literature continues to be terra incognita. This discrepancy becomes very clear especially when one compares the number of Vedic or philosophical texts consulted.

But I am digressing. Let us return to the study of Indian medicine in Germany. In the context of this lecture I cannot, of course, attempt to sketch the development of this study in full. I shall therefore, after having dwelt in some detail on the major impulses at the outset of this development, content myself with referring to the subsequent highlights.

While Hessler's translation of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* was being published, Johann August Vullers, who was actually a scholar of Persian, published in

1846 an article on ancient Indian obstetrics.⁶ In the same year, Adolf Friedrich Stenzler published an article on the history of Indian medicine in which he also expressed his opinion about the date of Suśruta.⁷ After that, a lull seems to have set in as regards major publications on Indian medicine. As if in compensation for this, the latter part of the last century saw a renewed burst of activity in the field.

Though not dealing with classical Indian medicine, two studies that appeared during this time are important for the Vedic antecedents of the classical traditions. In 1864, Adalbert Kuhn published an article in which he compared Vedic and Germanic incantations, several of these of medical content.⁸ Right after this, Joseph Virgil Grohmann published several articles on medicine in the *Atharvaveda*, including his important study of the word *takmán*,⁹ which, he maintained, refers to malaria. Though this thesis is no more accepted in all its aspects, since it seems that the term actually refers to a range of diseases which includes certain types of malaria, this essay nevertheless represents a major breakthrough in the study of Vedic medicine. I must add, though, that Grohmann, though an ethnic German, did not live and work in Germany itself, but in Bohemia.

All this time, Rudolph Roth, whose collected essays have, incidentally, been recently made available in an edition by Konrad Meisig,¹⁰ continued to study Indian medicine. Most of the results of his researches went into the Petersburg Dictionaries, but he also published some independent articles on Indian medicine, notably, in the seventies, on Caraka and on the *Madanapālanighaṇṭu*. It was also in the seventies that Ernst Haas, who by that time had moved to England and was, besides being librarian in the British Museum,

⁶ 'Alt-Indische Geburtshülfe', *Janus. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Literatur der Medicin* 1, 1846, 225-256.

⁷ 'Zur Geschichte der Indischen (sic) Medicin', *Janus. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Literatur der Medicin* 1, 1846, 441-454.

⁸ 'Indische und germanische segenssprüche (sic)', *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete des Deutschen, Griechischen und Lateinischen* 13, 1864, 49-74; 113-157.

⁹ 'Medicinisches aus dem Atharva-Veda, mit besonderem Bezug auf den Takman', *Indische Studien* 9, 1865, 381-423.

¹⁰ Rudolf von Roth, *Kleine Schriften* (Glasenapp-Stiftung 36), ed. Konrad Meisig, Franz Steiner Verlag: Stuttgart 1994.

also honorary professor of Sanskrit in London, published some articles on Indian medicine with particular reference to its extra-Indian contacts, and to Suśruta and his date. Many of his ideas were later refuted, but he did give an impetus to the study of the subject, especially as regards the contacts between the Indian and the Arabic medical traditions.

1879 saw the appearance of the well-known book *Altindisches Leben* by Heinrich Zimmer.¹¹ This work devoted a whole chapter to medicine in the Vedic Saṃhitās, particularly in the *Atharvaveda*. Though Zimmer clearly made extensive use of Grohmann's articles, this chapter also contains a lot of independent research, and is at times critical of Grohmann's opinions. After Zimmer, the study of medicine in the Vedic texts virtually ceased to be a subject of research in Germany for a long time.

In 1882 Richard Karl Garbe (later von Garbe) who, as part of his many interests in the field of Indology, also worked extensively on the *Atharvaveda*, published, together with an annotated German translation, chapter 13 of the *Rājanighaṇṭu*¹²; this chapter deals with minerals. After this, a lull in the study of Indian medicine seems again to have set in for about a decade. But the turn of the century saw a fresh spate of activity. Thus in 1900 Heinrich Laufer completed, in Berlin, a dissertation on aspects of Tibetan medicine.¹³ The foremost scholar who has to be named in this context is Julius Jolly, who published several articles on various aspects and works of classical Āyurveda in the nineties before the appearance, in 1901, of his important volume entitled *Medicin* in the famous encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan research, the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, whose many volumes were published in Strassburg. Jolly's book was translated into English by C.G. Kashikar in 1951 and a second revised edition of the translation appeared in 1977. After the publication of this important survey, Jolly continued to publish essays on Indian medicine, including its contacts outside India. He also contributed articles on Indian medicine to the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Jolly's works were so highly regarded that he was conferred honorary

¹¹ *Altindisches Leben. Die Cultur der vedischen Arier nach den Saṃhitā dargestellt* von Heinrich Zimmer, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung: Berlin 1879.

¹² *Die indischen Mineralien, ihre Namen und die ihnen zugeschriebenen Kräfte. Nara-hari's Rājanighaṇṭu Varga XIII Sanskrit und Deutsch mit kritischen und erläuternden Anmerkungen herausgegeben* von Richard Garbe, S. Hirzel: Leipzig 1882.

¹³ *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der tibetischen Medicin*, Heinrich Laufer: Berlin 1900.

doctorates of medicine by the Universities of Göttingen and Oxford. His collected essays are being prepared for publication by Albrecht Wezler; the volume will also contain a full bibliography of Jolly's works.¹⁴

This period also witnessed the publication of important works on Indian medicine by another scholar. Actually, he was a British citizen who was born and spent his working life in India, but since he was of German origin and also studied there, I may be pardoned for mentioning him in the given context. I am, of course, referring to A.F. Rudolf Hoernle. Hoernle became interested in Indian medicine through his work on the ancient Bower Manuscript found in Central Asia: a large portion of this manuscript is concerned with medicine. After several preliminary studies which appeared in the nineties of the last century, Hoernle published his monumental edition and annotated translation of the manuscript from 1893 to 1912.¹⁵ In the course of his investigations he was forced to deal with the classical Indian medical tradition at large, and as a result he published several valuable studies, including his book on Indian osteology, which appeared in 1907,¹⁶ and, in 1897, his English translation of the *Suśrutasamhitā* up to Sūtrasthāna 14.¹⁷

Shortly afterwards, several German Indologists not primarily interested in medicine were forced to come to grips with the subject because their chief fields of interest led them to it. Thus, for instance, Carl Cappeller, while studying Indian dramas, also took up the study of Ānandarāyamakhin's allegorical drama *Jīvānanda*, which may be called a medical compendium in the guise of a drama. In 1914 he published an article in which he summarised the contents of the work.¹⁸ This seems to have elicited much attention, for in

¹⁴ Julius Jolly, *Kleine Schriften* (Glasenapp-Stiftung 38), ed. Albrecht Wezler, Franz Steiner Verlag: Stuttgart (in preparation).

¹⁵ *The Bower Manuscript. Facsimile leaves, Nagārī (sic) transcript, Romanised transliteration and English translation with notes* (Archæological Survey of India, New Imperial Series 22), ed. A.F. Rudolf Hoernle, Government Printing: Calcutta 1893-1912.

¹⁶ *Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India. Part I. Osteology, or the Bones of the Human Body*, Clarendon Press: Oxford 1907.

¹⁷ A.F.R. Hoernle, *The Suśruta-Samhitā or The Hindū System of Medicine According to Suśruta. Translated from the original Sanskrit. Fasciculus I* (Bibliotheca Indica [139] New Series [Fascicle] 911), Asiatic Society: Calcutta 1897.

¹⁸ 'Ein medizinisches Sanskritdrama', *Festschrift Ernst Windisch zum siebzigsten Geburtstag am 4. September 1914 dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern*, Otto Harrasso-

1937 the whole drama was translated into German by Adolf Weckerling.¹⁹

Another scholar who had to tackle medical data in the course of his studies was Ernst Windisch, the results of whose investigation into the traditions surrounding the birth of the Buddha were published in book form in 1908.²⁰ Several notions relating to conception and embryology in various Old and Middle Indo-Aryan traditions had to be considered by him in the course of his investigations. The subject of Buddha's birth was taken up again in 1925 in an essay by Wilhelm Printz.²¹ Indeed, the subject of embryology and conception has been one of the areas of contact between medical and other Indological studies. Thus Emil Abegg in his study of the Pretakalpa of the *Garuḍapurāṇa* in 1921 also had to deal with the matter, though not in detail.²² And in recent times, Lambert Schmithausen, while discussing the Buddhist concept of *ālayavijñāna* in his study published in 1987, has also had to pay some attention to the notions on embryology.²³

Contacts with Indian medicine were however also present in other fields of study. While working on the Sanskrit manuscripts brought back by the German expeditions to Turfan in East Turkestan, Heinrich Lüders, whose chief interests lay in quite different fields of Indian studies, also chanced upon several manuscript fragments on medical matters. The results of his examina-

witz: Leipzig 1914, 107-115.

¹⁹ Adolf Weckerling, *Das Glück des Lebens. Medizinisches Drama von Ānandarāya-makhī. Zum ersten Male aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übersetzt* (Arbeiten der deutsch-nordischen Gesellschaft für Geschichte der Medizin, der Zahnheilkunde und der Naturwissenschaften 13), Universitätsverlag Ratsbuchhandlung L. Bamberg: Greifswald 1937.

²⁰ *Buddha's Geburt und die Lehre von der Seelenwanderung* (Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften 26,2 = Abhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften 55,2), B.G. Teubner: Leipzig 1908.

²¹ 'Buddha's Geburt', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 79, 1925, 119-132.

²² *Der Pretakalpa des Garuḍa-Purāṇa (Naunidhirāma's Sāroddhāra). Eine Darstellung des hinduistischen Totenkultes und Jenseitsglaubens. Aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt und mit Einleitung und Indices versehen* von Emil Abegg, Vereinigung wissenschaftlicher Verleger Walter de Gruyter & Co.: Berlin/Leipzig 1921.

²³ *Ālayavijñāna. On the Origin and the Early Development of a Central Concept of Yogācāra Philosophy* (Studia Philologica Buddhica, Monograph Series 4), The International Institute for Buddhist Studies: Tokyo 1987 (two volumes).

tion of these fragments were published in an essay in 1927;²⁴ this essay has been reprinted on pp. 579-591 of the collection of his works entitled *Philologica Indica*.²⁵ In this study Lüders identified one of the fragments as part of the text of the *Bhelasaṃhitā*, of which only one manuscript, in Telugu script and incomplete, has survived in India. A second, much smaller fragment was identified by him as maybe belonging to the same text. The larger fragment deals especially with the theory of the *rasas* or tastes, and this is also the subject of two other fragments from an unknown text, which are particularly interesting in that they elaborate on a theory of the *rasas* that has almost vanished in the classical medical works and most probably belongs to an older or variant tradition that has been superseded by the tradition generally followed in classical Indian medicine.

In 1937 Johannes Nobel published, after about thirty years of work on it, his magnum opus, the edition of the *Suvarṇa(pra)bhāsottamasūtra*, a Sanskrit Mahāyāna Buddhist text, which he edited with the help of the Tibetan and Chinese versions.²⁶ This was followed, until 1950, by the Tibetan translation and a glossary,²⁷ and, in 1958, by the Chinese version and its Tibetan translation.²⁸ Chapter 16 of the *Suvarṇa(pra)bhāsottamasūtra*, entitled Vyādhipraśamanaparivarta, contains much medical matter belonging to a tradition in many respects different from that found in the major classical works. In 1951 Nobel published a detailed study of this medical data.²⁹

²⁴ 'Medizinische Sanskrit-Texte aus Turkestan'.

²⁵ Heinrich Lüders, *Philologica Indica. Ausgewählte kleine Schriften. Festgabe zum siebzigsten Geburtstage am 25. Juni 1939 dargebracht von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: Göttingen 1940.

²⁶ *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra. Das Goldglanz-Sūtra. Ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus. Nach den Handschriften und mit Hilfe der tibetischen und chinesischen Übertragungen herausgegeben* von Johannes Nobel, Otto Harrassowitz: Leipzig 1937.

²⁷ *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra. Das Goldglanz-Sūtra. Ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus. Die tibetischen Übersetzungen mit einem Wörterbuch herausgegeben* von Johannes Nobel, E.J. Brill: Leiden/W. Kohlhammer: Stuttgart 1944-1950 (two volumes).

²⁸ *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra. Das Goldglanz-Sūtra. Ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus. I-Tsing's chinesische Version und ihre tibetische Übersetzung*, E.J. Brill: Leiden 1958 (two volumes).

²⁹ *Ein alter medizinischer Sanskrit-Text und seine Deutung* (Supplement to the Journal of the American Oriental Society [71,3.1951] 11), American Oriental Society: Baltimore 1951.

The study of Indian medicine in those decades was not, however, only more or less a by-product of other studies related to India. Thus in the twenties and the thirties of this century Adolf Weckerling published a number of studies on classical Indian medicine, including his dissertation on the *tridoṣa* doctrine, which appeared in Gießen in 1929.³⁰ I have already referred to his translation of Ānandarāyamakhin's *Jīvānanda*.

In 1929, Heinrich Zimmer, the son of the Heinrich Zimmer I have already mentioned as the author of the work *Altindisches Leben*, published, together with a long introduction and detailed notes, a German translation of the *Mātāṅgalīlā*, the handbook on elephants which also deals with the medical treatment of these animals.³¹ Zimmer emigrated to the United States of America in 1940, where, under the name of Henry R. Zimmer, in 1948 he published a book entitled *Hindu Medicine*.³²

At about the same time, the ophthalmologist A. Albert M. Esser became interested in Indian medicine. Besides being an ophthalmologist by training, Esser was also a Sanskritist and a historian of medicine. In the twenties and thirties he published several articles on classical Indian medicine, especially, but not only, on their ophthalmology. Besides the *Suśrutasamhitā*, his main interest was in the *Bhāvaprakāśa*, and his dissertation, which was published in 1930, was also on the ophthalmology of the *Bhāvaprakāśa*.³³ Esser's works are important not only for their quality, but also because they served to bridge the gap between philologically oriented Sanskritists on the one hand, and historians of medicine and medical professionals on the other.

It is probable, though I am not certain, that Esser's teacher in Sanskrit was Willibald Kirfel. Kirfel is best known for his extensive studies of the Purāṇas. In the course of these, however, he seems to have had to tackle several medical problems too. Be that as it may, he also developed an interest in Indian medicine. Together with his erstwhile student Luise Hilgenberg, who

³⁰ *Die Tridoṣa-Lehre in der indischen Medizin*.

³¹ *Spiel um den Elefanten. Ein Buch von indischer Natur*, R. Oldenbourg: München 1929.

³² (Publications of the Institute of the History of Medicine, the Johns Hopkins University. Third Series: The Hideyo Noguchi Lectures 6), The Johns Hopkins Press: Baltimore 1948.

³³ *Die Ophthalmologie des Bhāvaprakāśa quellenkritisch bearbeitet. Erster Teil: Anatomie und Pathologie* (Studien zur Geschichte der Medizin 19), Johann Ambrosius Barth: Leipzig 1930.

too was a physician besides being an Indologist and in 1935 had published an article on the concept of different constitutions of persons in Indian medicine, Kirfel in the thirties began to translate Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahr̥daya* into German. The work, which was completed in 1941,³⁴ is one of the major contributions of German Indology to the study of Indian medicine. Subsequently, Kirfel published several other studies on Indian medicine, of which the most notable are his book of 1951 on the five *mahābhūtas*, especially water and fire, and their historical development in the context of Indian medicine, and his study, in 1954, of a medical chapter of the *Garuḍapurāṇa*, particularly with regard to its embryological content. Kirfel's collected essays, together with a bibliography of his works, have been published by Robert Birwé.³⁵

The relations between the Arabic and the Indian medical traditions had been a subject of interest in Germany for a long time; a survey of the older literature on the Arabic sources on Indian medicine was given in 1880 by August Müller, who was the professor for Arabic studies in Halle.³⁶ In the period we are now considering, the subject of the Indian content in the medicine of aṭ-Ṭabarī was taken up in several articles published between 1931 and 1950 by Max Meyerhof and Alfred Siggel. However, this is a field about which I know little, and so I would like to refer those interested to the volume on medicine and pharmacy, namely volume three, of the *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* by Fuat Sezgin,³⁷ professor for the history of the natural sciences in Frankfurt.

We now come to the most prolific writer on traditional Indian medicine in Germany, namely to Reinhold F.G. Müller. Müller was a surgeon who developed an interest first for Central Asia and Tibet and then for India. Once he had mastered Sanskrit, he continuously published articles and books on Indian medicine. His output was prodigious and kept appearing in a steady

³⁴ Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahr̥dayasamhitā*. Ein altindisches Lehrbuch der Heilkunde aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übertragen mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Indices von Luise Hilgenberg und Willibald Kirfel, E.J. Brill: Leiden 1941.

³⁵ Willibald Kirfel, *Kleine Schriften* (Glasenapp-Stiftung 11), ed. Robert Birwé, Franz Steiner Verlag: Wiesbaden 1976.

³⁶ 'Arabische Quellen zur Geschichte der indischen Medizin', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 34, 1880, 465-556.

³⁷ E.J. Brill: Leiden 1967-. The volume mentioned is: *Band III. Medizin – Pharmazie – Zoologie – Tierheilkunde bis ca. 430 H.*, and appeared in 1970.

stream from the 1920s to the latter part of the 1960s. There is hardly any aspect of classical Indian medicine which he did not write about, and his interests extended much further to encompass medicine in the Vedic texts, in the *Arthaśāstra* and in a variety of other Indian works. It is he, more than any other single individual, who served to introduce Indian medicine also among those studying the history of medicine in general, and to shape their notions on the subject.

Unfortunately, Müller's work is of very uneven quality. There is no denying that he has marshalled an astonishing volume of facts and has also given us in-depth studies, in many cases pioneering works, on many aspects of Indian medicine. On the other hand, there is also no denying that much of his voluminous output is repetitive and, moreover, clearly shows that his knowledge of Sanskrit was not always adequate for the task. He was also, rather unfortunately, heavily influenced by Johannes Hertel, who formulated a theory, sarcastically labelled the 'Feuerlehre' by his Indological colleagues, in which fire was the driving force dominating the lives of the Vedic Indians. This theory was carried over into medicine by Müller, who, especially in his later life, displayed such an amount of idiosyncrasy in his work that he was not taken seriously by many philologists in Germany and abroad, which led to his developing a rather one-sided feud with other scholars in the field of Indian studies. Moreover, Müller wrote in a German which is often extremely peculiar and at times downright unintelligible. All this has had the unfortunate effect that Indologists in general have often tended to denigrate his achievements, while, on the other hand, he was accorded the honour of being elected a member of the Leopoldina in Halle, the foremost academy for the study of the natural sciences in Germany. As an effort to present Müller in the proper perspective and to highlight his achievements, I am at present engaged in preparing a collection of his major essays for publication.³⁸

In 1969, the scholar of Jainism Walther Schubring published an annotated edition of the *Tandulaveyāliya*, a Prakrit text belonging to the Jaina tradition and dealing chiefly with medical matters.³⁹ However, classical Indian

³⁸ Reinhold F.G. Müller, *Ausgewählte Kleine Schriften zur indischen Medizin* (Glasenapp-Stiftung 39), ed. Rahul Peter Das, Franz Steiner Verlag: Stuttgart (in preparation).

³⁹ Walther Schubring, *Tandulaveyāliya. Ein Painṇaya des Jaina-Siddhānta. Textausgabe, Analyse und Erklärung* (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Ab-

medicine hardly elicited any interest among Indologists in Germany during the fifties and the sixties of this century. The sole exception was the Indologist and Tibetologist Claus Vogel, at present professor at the University of Bonn, who developed an interest in Indian medicine via the study of Greek medicine, on which he wrote his doctoral thesis. In the fifties and sixties Vogel wrote several articles on Indian medicine, including the Indian medical tradition as reflected in Tibetan texts. His major work on the subject is his translation of the first five chapters of the Tibetan version of Vāgbhata's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*.⁴⁰ However, subsequently Vogel's main interest shifted to other subjects, notably traditional Indian lexicography. Nevertheless, he has continued to publish sporadically on Indian medicine; his latest publication, on the theoretical foundations of Indian medicine, appeared in 1995.⁴¹ Claus Vogel's wife Anne-liese Vogel-Brauer has also published an article on dental diseases as described in Indian medicine.⁴²

Siegfried Lienhard, a German speaking scholar of Austrian origin, who until recently held the chair of Indology at Stockholm in Sweden, has also sporadically published articles on Indian medicine, for instance on the constitutional types of humans in 1959,⁴³ and on the early history of medical terminology in 1979.⁴⁴

In 1978 Heinz Helmuth Michael Schmidt's edition of the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of the *Yogaśata* or *Yogaśataka* appeared, together with a

handlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 1969, 6), Franz Steiner Verlag: Wiesbaden 1969.

⁴⁰ Claus Vogel, *Vāgbhata's Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya. The First Five Chapters of its Tibetan Version. Edited and Rendered into English with the Original Sanskrit* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 37,2), Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft/Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner: Wiesbaden 1965.

⁴¹ 'Die theoretischen Grundlagen der indischen Medizin', pp. 75-87 in: *Heil und Heilung in den Religionen*, ed. Karl Hoheisel and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden 1995.

⁴² 'Die Zahn- und Zahnbetterkrankungen in der altindischen Medizin', *Stoma* 17, 1964, 126-140.

⁴³ 'Konstitution und Charakter nach den Lehren der altindischen Medizin', *Centaureus* 6, 1959, 82-93.

⁴⁴ 'Remarks on the Early History of Indian Medical Terminology', *Scientia Orientalis* 16, 1979, 9-20.

German translation and annotations.⁴⁵

Of late there has been a marked increase in interest for Indian medicine. One of the driving forces behind this is Ronald E. Emmerick. Emmerick, Australian born, is a British citizen and professor of Iranian Studies at the University of Hamburg. One of his main fields of interest is the Middle Iranian language of Khotan, and in the course of his studies he came upon the Khotanese version of Ravigupta's *Siddhasāra*. Realising that analysing this required extensive studies of the original version first, Emmerick set about searching for manuscripts of the Sanskrit original, at the same time also delving into Indian medicine in general. After several preliminary publications in the seventies, Emmerick brought out a critical edition of the Sanskrit text, accompanied by the text of the *Siddhasāranighaṇṭu*, in 1980,⁴⁶ followed by an edition of the Tibetan translation, with an accompanying English translation of this, in 1982.⁴⁷ The *Siddhasāra* seems to have been a very important text once, as is also evinced by the fact that it has been translated not only into Tibetan and Khotanese, but also into Uighur and Sinhalese. In accordance with this, three more volumes on the *Siddhasāra* are planned by Emmerick, one of these being an English translation of the Sanskrit text.

Apart from his research on the *Siddhasāra*, Emmerick published, and continues to publish, extensively on various aspects of Indian, Tibetan and Khotanese medicine. In the course of his researches he came to the conclusion that a systematic comparative study of various texts of the classical Indian tradition is impossible without comprehensive line and word indexes of these works. Accordingly, he applied for funds for this task to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, the German Research Association. The funds were granted, and in the year 1981 I was entrusted with the task of indexing the *Carakasamhitā*, the *Suśrutasamhitā*, the *Aṣṭāṅgahr̥daya* and the *Aṣṭāṅga-*

⁴⁵ Heinz Helmuth Michael Schmidt, *Das Yogaśāstra. Ein Zeugnis altindischer Medizin in Sanskrit und Tibetisch. Herausgegeben und übersetzt mit Anmerkungen und Indices*, Heinz Helmuth Michael Schmidt: Bonn 1978.

⁴⁶ *The Siddhasāra of Ravigupta. Volume 1: The Sanskrit Text* (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementband 23,1), ed. R.E. Emmerick, Franz Steiner Verlag: Wiesbaden 1980.

⁴⁷ R.E. Emmerick, *The Siddhasāra of Ravigupta. Volume 2: The Tibetan Version with Facing English Translation* (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementband 23,2), Franz Steiner Verlag: Wiesbaden 1982.

saṅgraha, while Emmerick himself indexed the *Siddhasāra*. The result of this was a primary index which was completed in 1991. Since then, Emmerick, occasionally assisted by me, has reworked this primary index, and the first results, namely comprehensive line, word and reverse indexes of the *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya*, are due to appear this year.

In the meantime, I myself had taken up the study of Indian medicine. In 1988 I published a critical edition, with German translation and annotations, of Surapāla's *Vṛkṣāyurveda*,⁴⁸ which is concerned with the Āyurveda of plants. In this work I also added editions of several other minor texts on *Vṛkṣāyurveda*. I have published several articles on various aspects of Indian medicine, including medicine in the Vedas. In 1993, I was granted a fellowship by the Wellcome Trust in London to prepare an edition of the *Mānavavṛkṣāyurveda*. This edition is complete, but will have to be reworked before it can be published. My study on the notions on the female role in conception according to Indian medical and sexological literature⁴⁹ is due to appear soon.

In 1983 the European Āyurvedic Society was founded in Groningen in the Netherlands at the instigation of Gerrit Jan Meulenbeld, widely regarded as one of the leading scholars on Indian medicine today. Emmerick and I were among the founding members. In 1990 I conceived of the idea of publishing a journal, namely the *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society*. The idea was approved, and Emmerick and I became its editors. Since then four issues have appeared, the fifth is due to appear within the next couple of weeks. We have succeeded in persuading many scholars both in Germany and abroad to contribute articles to the journal, thus also serving to get many people interested in Indian medicine in a way they would probably otherwise not have been.

Another German scholar who has turned to the study of Indian medicine is Albrecht Wezler, a colleague of Emmerick and my teacher in Hamburg. Wezler is an accomplished Pāṇinian scholar and an authority on Indian philosophy; his interest in Indian medicine has its source especially in the latter, particularly with regard to the history of ideas. He has also written on

⁴⁸ *Das Wissen von der Lebensspanne der Bäume. Surapālas Vṛkṣāyurveda kritisch ediert, übersetzt und kommentiert* von Rahul Peter Das. Mit einem Nachtrag von G. Jan Meulenbeld zu seinem Verzeichnis 'Sanskrit Names of Plants and their Botanical Equivalents' (Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien 34), Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden: Stuttgart 1988.

⁴⁹ *The Origin of the Life of a Human Being. Conception and the Female according to Ancient Indian Medical and Sexological Literature.*

Vṛkṣāyurveda, especially in the context of the doctrine called the *sarva-sarvātmakatvavāda*.⁵⁰

Several other scholars in Germany, including some from the field of the study of the history of medicine, have also taken up the serious study of Indian medicine. I am emphasising the word 'serious' here, because the proliferation of New Age thought in the West and the interest in esoterics has of late also led to a spate of publications which cannot be termed serious by academic standards. Of serious publications, especial mention must be made of Mariana Fedorova's study of the theory of the *marmans* in classical medical texts, which appeared as her dissertation in 1990.⁵¹ In 1996 an M.A. thesis by Maria Schreiber was submitted to the University of Hamburg; it had as its subject an analysis of the first Praśna of the *Āyurvedasūtra*.⁵² Of works in progress, I may point out particularly the German translation of the *Bālatantra* by Jürgen Heckmann. Other studies on Indian medicine by various scholars have appeared in the various issues of the *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society* and can easily be consulted.

I must emphasise here that what I have been talking about is the study of the classical system of Āyurveda, not to be confused with Āyurveda as it is actually practised and taught today. The two are not identical, though their relationship has not yet been the subject of serious study. I have not tried to keep track of, and have only a very vague knowledge of, the study of Āyurveda as it is actually practised today. However, one study which I would like to highlight is that of Ronald Kaiser on the professionalisation of modern Āyurveda and its development and role today; this study appeared in 1992.⁵³

The subject of sexological literature, even though it has many points of contact with medical literature, has also been left aside by me, for, delightful as the topic may be, it would not have been possible to encompass it within

⁵⁰ On the latter see especially: 'Paralipomena zum Sarvasarvātmakatvavāda II: On the Sarvasarvātmakatvavāda and its Relation to the Vṛkṣāyurveda', *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 16/17, 1992, 287-315.

⁵¹ *Die Marmantheorie in der klassischen indischen Medizin*, Mariana Fedorova: München 1990.

⁵² *Das Āyurvedasūtra – Eine Synthese zwischen Āyurveda und Yoga? Untersuchungen vornehmlich zum 1. Praśna des Āyurvedasūtra* (unpublished)

⁵³ *Die Professionalisierung der ayurvedischen Medizin und deren Rolle im indischen Medizinpluralismus* (Kölner Ethnologische Arbeitspapiere 3), Holos Verlag: Bonn 1992.

the frame of this lecture. For similar reasons, alchemical studies too have been neglected.

I have also not felt up to the task of including a survey of the collection and cataloguing of relevant manuscripts in Germany. Properly speaking, this should be included in a history of research on Indian medicine, but I simply lack the knowledge and the means for this, and beg to be pardoned on this account.

This brings me to the end of this overview of studies on Indian medicine in Germany. I have tried to avoid merely heaping one dry fact upon the other, but, unfortunately, the nature of the subject is such that this could not be completely avoided. Nevertheless, I hope that I have not been too much of a bore.

Towards a Critical Edition of the *Bhelasaṃhitā**

TSUTOMU YAMASHITA

No one would doubt the importance of the *Bhelasaṃhitā* (also *Bhedasaṃhitā*), one of the old texts belonging to the Ātreya-school of Āyurveda,¹ for the historical study of Indian traditional medicine. However, we have as yet neither a reliable text edited on solid critical principles nor a complete translation of it. The three editions so far published (here denoted by E₁, E₂ and E₃)², with quite a few improper readings, are in my view far behind the standard required of a critical edition.

Under these circumstances I decided to prepare a critical edition and a complete translation of the *Bhelasaṃhitā*. My work is based on the palm-leaf manuscript (= T)³ preserved in the Mahārāja Serfoji's Sarasvatī Mahāl Library in Thanjavur (Tanjore). This manuscript dates from about A.D. 1650 and is written in the Telugu script. It is quite regrettable that it is incomplete and contains not a few scribal errors. All the other manuscripts available to us (here denoted by C₁, C₂, C₃ and H_c)⁴ are copies made from this single manuscript.

* I am deeply indebted to Dr. G. Jan Meulenbeld for many valuable suggestions.

¹ Cf. *Carakasamhitā*, Sūtrasthāna 1.30-33.

² E₁ = edition of Asutosh Mookerjee: 'The Bhela Samhita. Sanskrit Text', *University of Calcutta, Journal of the Department of Letters* 6, 1921 (only contribution in this issue of the journal); E₂ = edition of Girijādayālu Śukla: *Bhelasaṃhitā*, Varanasi 1959 (Vidyābhavana Āyurveda Granthamālā 25); E₃ = edition of V. S. Venkatasubramania Sastri and C. Raja Rajeswara Sarma: *Bhela Samhitā*, New Delhi 1977 (Central Council for Research in Indian Medicine & Homoeopathy Publication 31).

³ A. C. Burnell, *A Classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS. in the Palace at Tanjore*, London 1880, 63-65, no. 10773 (= P.P.S. Sastri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Mahārāja Serfoji's Sarasvatī Mahāl Library Tanjore. Vol. XVI*, Tanjore 1933, 7410-7411, no. 11085).

⁴ C₁: The Palmyr Cordier Collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, *sanscrit* 1183 in Telugu script; C₂: do., *sanscrit* 1182 in Nāgarī script; C₃: do., *sanscrit* 1184 in Roman script; H_c: The Hoernle Library in the Otani University, Kyoto, Hr-68-1 *Bheda Samhita* in Telugu script with notes, and also the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine Library, London, α 894, the Oriental Research Institute and Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum, T 1446, and the Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library, London, (A.B. Keith and F.W. Thomas, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prākṛit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office. Volume II, Brahmanical and Jaina Manuscripts with a supplement Buddhist Manu-*

Besides the Thanjavur manuscript, we have a fragment⁵ of the text, which was found by A. von Le Coq in Tuyuq, East-Turkestan. This fragment,⁶ probably dating from the ninth century, is also valuable for the edition, although it covers only the last portion of Nidānasthāna, Chapter 8, and the beginning of Vimānasthāna, Chapter 1.

In the following pages I present a sample of the edition and translation of *Bhelasaṃhitā*, Śārīrasthāna, Chapter 2. Comments and advice, if any, are solicited from the reader concerning the style, layout, and the method of my edition. I have used the following symbols in my text:

[] indicates an addition to make the context clearer.

≅ indicates a lacuna of one *akṣara*.

(≅) indicates an *akṣara* blurred due to damage of the manuscript.

conj. (conjecture) signifies a major change of the text in the manuscript.

em. (emendation) signifies a minor change of the text in the manuscript.

(I must admit, though, that the distinction between *conj.* and *em.* is a subjective one.) The numbers added to the *śloka*s in the text are my own.

Other abbreviations are:

Ca: *Carakasamhitā* with the commentary of Cakrapāṇidatta, edited by Jādavaji Trikamji Āchārya, Bombay ³1941, reprinted New Delhi 1981.

Ci: *Cikitsāsthāna*.

Kā: *Kāśyapasamhitā* (or *Vṛddhajīvakiyatantra*), edited by Jādavaji Trikamji Āchārya and Somanātha Śarmā, Bombay 1938 (Nepāl Sanskrit Series 1).

Śā: *Śārīrasthāna*.

Su: *Suśrutasamhitā* with the commentaries of Ḍalhaṇa and Gayadāsa (on Nidānasthāna), edited by Jādavaji Trikamji Āchārya and Nārāyaṇ Rām Āchārya, Bombay ³1938, reprinted Varanasi 1992.

Sū: *Sūtrasthāna*.

VS: *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* of Kaṇāda with the commentary of Candrānanda, critically edited by Muni Jambuvijayaji, Baroda 1961 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series 136), reprinted Baroda 1982.

scripts, Oxford 1935, 739f., no. 6224).

⁵ Walter Clawiter, Lore Holzmann and Ernst Waldschmidt, *Sanskriithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden. Teil I*, Wiesbaden 1965, 287, no. 641, T 1653 in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.

⁶ On this fragment see Heinrich Lüders, 'Medizinische Sanskrit-Texte aus Turkestan', pp. 148-162 in: *Aus Indiens Kultur. Festgabe Richard von Garbe*, Erlangen 1927 (= *Philologica Indica. Ausgewählte kleine Schriften*, Göttingen 1940, 579-591).

Sample of edition and translation of the *Bhelasamhitā*

[*Bhelasamhitā Śārīrasthāna*]

[*dvitīyo 'dhyāyah*]

[folio 63^r 1.2] = = = = = = = = = = māno 'vatiṣṭhate |
 jātasya daśame māse nāmagotre namaskṛte ||1||
 taruṇasya kumārasya vardhamāneṣu dhātuṣu |
 asthimajjasu pūrṇeṣu śukraṃ na pratipadyate ||2||
 aṅgāṅgeṣu suvṛddheṣu pratimūleṣu dhātuṣu |
 śukraṃ ca ṣoḍaśe varṣe suvyaktaṃ pratipadyate ||3||
 tathā vṛddhasya jantos tu parikṣiṇeṣu dhātuṣu |
 vivekā na yathāpūrvam vivicyante parikṣayāt ||4||
 tato 'lparetā bhavati sujīrṇo durbalo 'tha vā |
 na paśyati naraḥ śukraṃ sarvadhātuparikṣayāt ||5||
 raktaṃ māmśaṃ vasāsthīni majjā śukraṃ tathānalaḥ |
 śakṛnmūtre ca tair mandam vidyān navatitaḥ param ||6||
 iha narcchatī garbhaṃ strī vātenopahatā tathā |
 yā nirdoṣeṇa cānnena na hi vandhyāsti nā ca na ||7||
 [folio 63^v] vamanam recanam caiva bastim āsthāpanam tathā |
 tasmāt tat kārayet strīṇām prasiddhāḥ prasavanti vai ||8||
 athātra bhavati prāśnaḥ kasmāc chabdam na nāsayā |
 gr̥hṇāty āsyena vā gandham tulyam sarvatra kham yadi ||9||

1ab The last part of the Vimānasthāna and the first part of the Śārīrasthāna have been lost due to a deficiency of the original folio no. 46. The scribe of T comments in Telugu: *mātrkalō 46 lēdu* (there is no 46 in the original) **1d** namaskṛte E₃T, susamaskṛte E_{1,2} conj. **2a** taruṇasya E_{1,2} em., E₃, varuṇasya T **2d** śukraṃ E₃, śuklaṃ E_{1,2}T **3a** suvṛddheṣu E_{1,2}T, pravṛddheṣu E₃ **3c** śukraṃ em., śuklaṃ E_{1,2,3}T • varṣe C_{1,2,3}H_c E_{1,2,3}, var(=) T **4a** vṛddhasya E_{1,2,3}, vṛddhasya T • jantos tu E_{1,2}, jantoś ca E₃ em., jantos tu T **4c** vivekā E_{1,2,3} em., mavekā T **5c** naraḥ E_{1,2,3} em., nara T • śukraṃ em., śuklaṃ E_{1,2,3}T **6a** vasāsthīni E_{1,2,3} em., casāsthīni T **6b** śukraṃ em., śuklaṃ E_{1,2,3}T • tathānalaḥ E₃T, tathā 'nilaḥ E_{1,2} em. **7c** yā nirdoṣeṇa T, yānidoṣeṇa E_{1,2,3} read, yonidoṣeṇa E_{1,2,3} em. • cānnena E_{1,3}T, cānyena E₂ em. **7d** nā ca na E₃T, kā ca na E_{1,2} em. **8b** bastim em., vastim E_{1,2,3} em., vastir T **8d** prasavanti C_{1,2,3}H_c, E₃ reads, E_{1,2} em., prasaranti E_{1,2} read, prasuvanti E₃ em., prasa(=)nti T **9b** kasmāc chabdam na E₃ conj. (*misprint chavdam*), kaphāṃ charndhi na E_{1,2} read, kaphāṃ charndhi ca E₁ em., śabdāñ chādhi nu E₂ conj., rasā chardim na E₃ reads, kasāchardim na T **9c** gr̥hṇāty āsyena em., gr̥hṇīṣvāsyena E_{1,2}, gr̥hīṣvāsyena E₃ reads, gr̥hṇāsy āsyena E₃ em., gr̥hīṣvāsyena T

tvagbhāge ca same kasmān na gr̥hṇāty anyayā rasam |
 iti tadvacanam śrutvā pratyuvāca punarvasuḥ ||10||
 ghrāṇam gandham ca bhaumam hi rūpam cakṣuś ca taijasam |
 saṁsparśam sparśanam vāyoḥ śrotraśabdātma kham tathā ||11||
 rasanam ca rasā hy āpyam tasmād etair ihendriyaiḥ |
 yathāsvam tulyayogitvād viṣayagrahaṇam smṛtam ||12||
 svam svam hi viṣayam dhātur vijānāty ātmanānvitaḥ |
 ātmendriyamanorthānām buddhiś ceti samādiśa ||13||
 ity āha bhagavān ātreyaḥ ||

10a tvagbhāge E_{1,2,3} em., tvadbhāge T 10b anyayā E₃T, anyathā E₁, E₂ reads, anyato E₂ em. 10c śrutvā E_{1,2,3}, śṛtvā T 10d pratyuvāca E_{1,2,3}, pratyāvāca T 11b rūpam E_{1,2,3} em., rūkṣam T • taijasam E_{1,2,3}, tejasam T 11c saṁsparśam E_{1,2,3}, saṁsparśa T 11d śrotraśabdātma kham conj., śrotram śabdātmakam E_{1,2}T, śrotram śabdātmakham E₃ em. • E₂ comments 'śrotram śabdaś ca khātmakam' iti pāṭhyam 12a rasā hy āpyam conj., rasāvyā E_{1,2} read, rasam hy āpyam E_{1,2} conj., rasovyā E₃ reads, raso hy āpyam E₃ conj., rasāvyāptya T 12b tasmād E_{1,3}T, vidyād E₂ conj. 13d buddhiś T, bandhaś E_{1,2}, bandhiś E₃ reads, bandhāc E₃ em. ☉ ity āha bhagavān ātreyaḥ || T, (iti bhele śārīre dvitīyo 'dhyāyaḥ |) ity āha bhagavān ātreyaḥ | E₁, ity āha bhagavān ātreyaḥ | iti bhele śārīre dvitīyo 'dhyāyaḥ | E₂, ity āha bhagavān ātreyaḥ | iti bhele dvitīyo 'dhyāyaḥ || E₃

Translation of Bhelasamhitā, Śārīrasthāna Chapter 2

..... is staying in the tenth month after birth, when the personal and *gotra* names¹ have been paid homage to. (1)

When the bodily elements (*dhātu*) of a little child are increasing and bones and marrow are fully developed, seed (*śukra*) does not [yet] arise.² (2)

When the bodily elements have substantially increased in each part of the

¹ A brief reference to 'two names' is found in Ca.Śā too. However, Ca mentions 'on the tenth day' and does not refer to the *gotra* name. Ca.Śā.8.50: *daśame tv ahani ... kumārasya pitā dve nāmanī kārayen nākṣatrikam nāmābhiprāyikam ca.*

² The seven bodily elements (*dhātu*) are nutrient fluid (*rasa*), blood (*rakta*), flesh (*māṁsa*), fat (*medas*), bone (*asthi*), marrow (*majjan*), and seed (*śukra*). The bodily elements are transformed into each other in the body in this order; see e.g. G.J. Meulenbeld, *The Mādhavanidāna and its Chief Commentary. Chapters 1-10*, Leiden 1974, 470f.

body respectively, in accordance with their [respective] matrix (*pratimūla*),³ then the seed also arises manifestly in the sixteenth year.⁴ (3)

And when the *dhātus* of an old person are wasted, the processes of separation [of each *dhātu* from the preceding one] do not come about as previously, due to the state of [physical] decline. (4)

For that reason, his seed diminishes and he becomes worn-out or weak. [Such] a person no longer sees [his] seed, because of the decline of all the *dhātus*. (5)

One should know that the blood, the muscular tissue, the muscle-fat (*vasā*), the bones, the marrow, the seed,⁵ the [digestive] fire, faeces and urine decrease in activity by their [decline] from ninety years onwards. (6)

In this world a woman who is struck by *vāta* does not become pregnant. A woman who is with (= takes) faultless food does not become infertile. A man⁶ also [does] not [become infertile by faultless food]. (7)

Therefore, one should apply vomiting (*vamana*), purgation (*recana*) and [treatment with] an oily enema (*basti*) and non-oily enema (*āsthāpana*) to women. Those whose treatments are successful certainly give birth. (8)

Then, there is a question:⁷ ‘If space is everywhere equally, why does one not perceive sound by means of the nose, smell by means of the mouth?’ (9)

‘When the part[s] of the skin are equal, why does one not perceive taste by means of another [part than the tongue]?’ Hearing this utterance, Punarvasu [Ātreya] answered: (10)

³ This translation is tentative, as the meaning of *pratimūla* is not clear.

⁴ Cf. Kā.Śā.Śarīravicya p.52, l.9: *śukraṃ tu ṣoḍaśe varṣe sampūrṇaṃ sampravartate*, Kā.Śā.Jātisūtrīya 4, Ca.Ci.2.4.40ab and Su.Sū.14.18.

⁵ In this order of *dhātus*, *rasa* is absent, and instead of *medas*, *vasā* is mentioned.

⁶ Pāda 7d is problematic, its reading and translation are not certain. Another solution might be the emendation proposed by E_{1,2}: *kā ca na*.

⁷ Ślokas 9–13 are given in the form of questions and answers between Punarvasu Ātreya and his student. We frequently come across the same form in Ca. This student whose name is not mentioned here may be Bhela.

‘The organ of smell and smell are of the nature of earth, form and the organ of sight are of the nature of fire. Touch and the organ of touch are of the nature of wind, space is of the nature of the organ of sound and sound.’ (11)

‘The organ of taste and the tastes are of the nature of water.⁸ Therefore, it is traditionally said that in this world the perception[s] of objects [arise] individually from the conjunction[s] of the senses with [elements having] equal [properties].’ (12)

‘Each *dhātu*,⁹ endowed with an *ātman*, distinguishes its own object[s]. Perception (*buddhi*) [arises due to the connection of] *ātman*, the senses, *manas*, and the objects;¹⁰ thus you must declare.’ (13)

Thus the venerable Ātreya spoke.

⁸ The text of pādas 11d-12a seems to be corrupt, but its contents are sufficiently clear to justify the emendations.

⁹ The meaning of *dhātu* is evidently different from ‘bodily element’ here. It seems to denote *indriya*, *puruṣa* or *ātman*. Cf. e.g. Ca.Śā.5.4: *ṣaḍ dhātavaḥ samuditāḥ puruṣa iti śabdaṃ labhante*.

¹⁰ Cf. e.g. VS 3.1.13, 3.2.1, 5.2.16, 9.15, and also Ca.Sū.11.20: *ātmendriyamanorthānām sannikarṣāt pravartate | vyaktā tadātve yā buddhiḥ pratyakṣaṃ sā nirucyate*, Ca.Śā.1.33: *bhedāt kāryendriyārthānām bahvyo vai buddhayaḥ smṛtāḥ | ātmendriyamanorthānām ekaikā sannikarṣajā*.

*Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha, Kalpasthāna IV: Translation and Notes**

KENNETH GREGORY ZYSK

Thus [begins] the fourth chapter

- 1 Henceforth we shall expound [the chapter called] enema-preparations. Thus indeed declared the great sages beginning with Ātreya.
- 2 One should boil in water [the following drugs] until there is a residue of one-fourth [the original quantity]: one pala each of balā, guḍūcī, triphalā, rāsnā, and the two pañcamūlas; [seeds of] eight [madana] fruits; and a half-tulā of goat-meat.
- 3-4 [That decoction should be] filtered and combined with the paste of yavānī, [madana] fruit, bilva, kuṣṭha, vacā, śatāhvā, ghana, and pippalī, with treacle, honey and clarified butter, and finally adding oil. Mixed with rock-salt and gently warmed, this enema especially destroys all diseases, benefits the healthy, and provides life and nourishment. Whenever an enema[-recipe] omits paste, only that given here should be employed in every case.
- 5 A decoction of the two pañcamūla drugs combined with goat's milk, mixed with fermented rice-water, with the addition of the paste of the previously [mentioned drugs beginning with yavānī], and mixed with three [of the four] oily substances, is the best corrective enema (*nirūha*), said to destroy all wind-disorders.
- 6-7 One prastha-quantity of a well-cooked decoction of balā, paṭolī, small pañcamūla drugs, trāyantikā, eraṇḍa, and barley, combined with a half-prastha quantity of goat's [meat] broth, should be cooked until it is [reduced to] a quantity of one prastha. Combined with the paste of priyaṅgu, kṛṣṇā, and ghana, and finally adding oil, clarified butter, honey, and rock-salt, [this enema] is an appetiser (*dīpana*), and it promotes muscle tone and strength, and at the same time, puts strength in the eyes.
- 8-11 [The physician] should cook in a quantity of two ādhakas of water

* For the list of abbreviations and references, see pp. 320f. of my translation of Chapter II in *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society* 3, 1993, 319-351.

three palas of eraṇḍa-root, three palas of palāśa, one pala each of the small pañcamūla drugs, rāsnā, balā, chinnaruhā, aśvagandhā, punar-navā, āragvadha, and devadāru, along with the [seeds] of eight [madana] fruits. When [only] one-eighth of this [decoction] remains, one should add a well-squeezed akṣa-quantity of vacā, śatāhvā, hapuṣā, priyaṅgu, yaṣṭī, kaṇā, vatsaka-seeds, and musta, combined with a [one-fourth] portion of rock-salt, and finally adding yellow oxide of mercury (*tārksyaśaila*). Combined with honey, oil and [cow's] urine, this enema is abrasive (*lekhana*) and appetising (*dīpana*), and it subdues piercing pains (*śūla*) in the shanks, thighs, feet, sacrum, back, abdomen, chest, and pubic region, heaviness (*gurutā*), obstruction [of "peccant" humours] (*vibandha*), internal tumours (*gulma*), stones (*aśman*), hernia (*vardhma*), chronic diarrhoea (*grahaṇī*), and haemorrhoids (*gudottha*), as well as all the phlegmatic and wind-caused diseases.

- 12 A quantity of fifty palas of goat's [meat] broth cooked in four palas of oil and clarified butter, acidified with thick sour milk and dāḍima and combined with the powder [of the drugs beginning with yavānī] is [an enema promoting] strength, complexion, muscle tone, semen, and digestive fire, and is recommended for dimness of vision (*taimirya*) and headache (*śiroruj*).
- 13 Milk cooked with eight palas of yaṣṭī combined with śatāhvā, the [pith of the madana] fruit and pippalī, and finally adding clarified butter and honey, [constitutes] a corrective enema beneficial for wind-blood (i.e., wind mixed with blood) (*vātarakta*), erysipelas (*visarpa*), and loss of voice (i.e., laryngitis) (*vaisvaryā*).
- 14 The foremost milk (i.e., cow's milk) boiled with yaṣṭī, lodhra, abhayā, [white] candana, and with kamala and utpala, and finally adding candied sugar, honey and clarified butter, and the [paste of the] jīvanīya group of drugs, and well-cooked, [constitutes a corrective enema which] destroys bilious disorders (*pittāmaya*).
- 15-17 Milk boiled with a picu-quantity each of gopāṅganā, candana, śītapākī, drākṣā, ṛ(d)dhi, kāśmarya, madhūka, sevyā, the paste of śrāvaṇī, mudgaparṇī, balā, svaguptā and madhuyaṣṭī, and wheat-flour, mixed with the juice of sugar-cane and vidārī, with oil boiled with yaṣṭī-

madhu, and with white lotus (*sitopala*), honey and clarified butter, and then cooled, [constitutes] a [corrective] enema recommended in the case of one suffering from internal tumours (*gulma*), diarrhoea (*atisāra*), dizziness (*bhrama*), painful urination (*mūtrakṛcchra*), weakness caused by pulmonary lesions (*kṣīṇakṣata*), or in one whose vital fluid (*ojas*) and strength have completely disappeared, with the accompanying conditions of burning sensations all over the body (*dehadāha*) and piercing pain (*śūla*) localised in the limbs.

- 18-20 After having boiled in water kośātaka, āragvadha, devadāru, mūrvā, śvadamṣṭrā, kuṭaja, arka, pāṭhā, kulattha [seeds], and bṛhatī, there should remain a quantity of ten prasṛtas of that extract. [The physician] should administer to those suffering from phlegmatic disorders (*kapharogin*), weak digestive fire (*mandāgni*), and aversion to food (i.e., loss of appetite) (*aśanavidviṣ*), as a corrective enema that [extract] mixed with the paste of one akṣa each of sarṣapa, elā, madana [fruit], and kuṣṭha, and a prasṛta-quantity [each] of honey, oil [cooked with the paste of the madana] fruits [and acids], a caustic [made from barley awns], and sarṣapa oil.
- 21-24 [The physician] should gather together a pulverised pala-quantity of each of punarnavā, eraṇḍa, vṛṣa, aśmabheda, vṛścīva, bhutika, balā, palāśa, and the two pañcamūlas, along with the washed [seeds of] eight madana fruits, bilva, barley, and one prasṛta-quantity of the fruits of the kola, kulattha and dhānya. This should be boiled in two āḍhakas of water until only milk remains. [It should then be] purified by straining through a clean white cloth and mixed with the paste of vacā, śatāhvā, amaradāru, kuṣṭha, yaṣṭyāhva, siddārthaka, pippalī, yavānī, and madana [fruit]. When neither too hot nor too cold, [it should be] smeared over with treacle and rock-salt, and mixed with three prasṛtas each of honey, oil and fresh butter. [The physician] who knows the correct procedures should administer this corrective enema according to the proper procedures, for it removes all diseases caused from the combination [of two increased humours].
- 25-27 Henceforth he (i.e., the author) will explain various enemas arranged in half-śloka. [The first four] cleanse the bowels and are mixed with the paste of their own [drugs] and rock-salt: [1] that consisting of the two kośātakīs, ikṣvāku, madana [fruit], jīmūta, and vatsaka; [2] that

consisting of the root of both śyāmā and trivṛtā, and [the roots] of dantī and dravantī; [3] that consisting of both prakīryā and udkīryā, kṣīrīṇī, and the fruit of nīlinī; and [4] that consisting of saptalā, śaṅkhinī, lodhra, and the fruit of kampillaka.

- 28-29 [The second four] are considered to be constipating (*saṅgrāhika*): [1] that consisting of the dhātakī blossoms, tarkārī and jīvantī roots, and vatsaka; [2] that consisting of pragraha, khadira, kuṣṭha, śamī, piṇḍītaka, and barley; [3] that consisting of priyaṅgu, arkamūlī, taruṇī, jāti, and yūthikā; [4] that consisting of the vaṭa drugs, kiṃśuka, and lodhra.
- 30 That [considered to be] constipating (*grāhin*) [is prepared] according to the proper sequence with a decoction of the priyaṅgu group of drugs and the paste of the ambaṣṭhā group of drugs. That [considered to be] abrasive (*lekhana*) [consists of] a decoction of triphalā with the admixture of the ūṣaka group of drugs; [and] that [considered] roborant (*bṛmhaṇa*) [is prepared with] the decoction [of roborant drugs combined with] the paste of the sweet drugs (*madhura*) and mixed with [meat] broth and clarified butter.
- 31 The young sprouts of each of badarī, airāvaṇī, śelu, śālmālī, and dhanvana, boiled in milk, with the addition of honey and then blood, [make up] a “slimy” (*picchila*) [enema].
- 32 [An enema] that removes burning sensations in the body (*dāhaghna*) [is prepared] either with kolaṅkataka, kāṇḍekṣu, darbha, poṭā, ikṣupālī, or with the candana group of drugs; both require the addition of clarified butter and milk.
- 33 In the case of dysentery (*pravāhaṇa*), a muṣṭi-quantity of the peduncles of śālmālī, boiled with milk [and] mixed with clarified butter, is a beneficial [enema]; likewise, [a muṣṭi-quantity of] the peduncles of śālmālaka[, boiled with milk and mixed with clarified butter, is a beneficial enema].
- 34 In the case of cutting pains in the rectum (*parikarta*), [an enema prepared] with karbudāra, āḍhaki, nīpa, and vidula boiled in milk, or [prepared] with the peduncles of śrīparṇī and kovidāra[, boiled in milk, is beneficial].

- 35 In the case of continuous discharge [from the rectum] (*parisrava*), milk boiled with *vṛścīva* and *punarnavā*, or else [boiled] with *ākhukarṇikā* combined with *taṇḍulīyaka*[, is a beneficial enema].
- 36 In the case of over-action of evacuatives [causing excessive discharge] (*atiyoga*), [enemas] should be prepared with *aśvāvarohaka*, *kākanāsā*, and *rājakaśeruka* boiled in milk [and] mixed with honey, collyrium (*añjana*), and clarified butter. And by the very same medical procedure, another [enema] with the four plants beginning with *nyagrodha* [should be prepared for the same problem].
- 37-38 In the case of loss of life-blood (*jīvādāna*) [caused by over-action of evacuatives], a physician should administer two cold enemas, one with *br̥hatī*, *kṣīrakākolī*, *pr̥śniparnī* and *śatāvarī*, and the other with *kāś-
marya*, *badarī*, *mūrvā*, *uśīra* and *priyaṅgu*, both boiled in milk combined with clarified butter, collyrium (*añjana*) and finally the addition of honey and candied sugar. [An enema prepared] with the milk of cows, sheep, goats or buffaloes, combined with drugs of the *jīvanīya* group [is also recommend in the case of loss of life-blood].
- 39 An enema [prepared] with freshly squeezed out blood of a hare, deer, cock, feline, buffalo, sheep or goat, is [likewise] recommended in the case of loss of life-blood (*jīvādāna*) [caused by the over-action of evacuatives].
- 40 Now I shall describe separately the oily and mild corrective enemas (*nirūha*), using *prasṛta*-quantities, for those with very delicate constitutions and for those suffering from misapplications of evacuative procedures.
- 41 Two *prasṛtas* of milk should be prepared by combining three *prasṛtas*[, one each] of honey, oil and clarified butter. Then stirred with a ladle, this [corrective] enema destroys wind and promotes physical strength and complexion.
- 42 One *prasṛta* each of oil, *prasannā*, honey and clarified butter, two [prasṛtas] of the decoction of the [five big] roots beginning with *bilva*, [and] two [prasṛtas] of a decoction of *kulattha*[, stirred with a ladle, constitute] a wind-conquering [enema].
- 43 A [corrective] enema [consisting of] one *prasṛta* each of the liquefied

portions (i.e., decoctions) of paṭola, nimba, pūṭika, rāsnā, and sapta-cchada, and one prasṛta of clarified butter, with the addition of the paste of sarṣapa and the five bitter drugs (*pañcatikta*), removes a body moistened [internally by the “peccant” humours] (*abhiṣyanda*), worms [in the bowels] (*kṛmi*), skin affliction (*kuṣṭha*) and urinary disorders (*prameha*).

- 44 Having blended together five prasṛtas of a decoction made from viḍaṅga, triphalā, śigru, [madana] fruit, musta, and ākhukarnī, and one prasṛta of oil, and then combining it with the paste of vella and pippalī, there is a corrective enema which destroys worms [in the bowels] (*kṛmi*).
- 45 A [corrective] enema consisting of one prasṛta each of the extracts of payasyā, ikṣu, sthirā, rāsnā, and vidārī, along with honey and clarified butter, [combined with] the paste of kṛṣṇā, promotes the production of semen (i.e., virility).
- 46 A corrective enema consisting of] four prasṛtas of oil, cow’s urine, whey, and sour fermented rice water (*amlakāñjika*), combined with the paste of sarṣapa, alleviates retention of faeces (i.e., constipation) (*viṭ-saṅga*) and obstructive abdominal swelling (*ānāha*).
- 47 [A mixture of] five prasṛtas of decoctions of [one prasṛta each of] śvadamṣṭrā, āśmabhid, and eraṇḍa, and [one prasṛta each of] oil and surā-liquor, combined with the paste of capalā, kauntī, and yaṣṭyāhvā, and used with warm water, [constitutes a corrective] enema considered best in the case of painful urination (*mūtrakṛcchra*) accompanied by obstructive abdominal swelling (*ānāha*).
- 48 In the case of [the “peccant” humours] becoming motionless [in the bowels] by the action of an enema with mild [drugs], another enema with harsh [drugs] is recommended [to follow]; and in the case of the out-pouring [of “peccant” humours] by the action of an enema with harsh [drugs], [another] mild [enema] with unctuous, sweet, and cooling [drugs is recommended to follow].
- 49 When appropriate, sharpness [of a mild enema] is accomplished by adding [cow’s] urine, bilva, agni, salt, caustics [from barley awns (i.e., potash)], and sarṣapa; on the other hand, mildness [of a sharp enema]

[is accomplished] by adding milk and clarified butter.

- 50 After proper consideration of [the patient's] physical strength, the time of day, the state of his humours, [his] disease, and [his] disposition, a [corrective] enema administered with the appropriate groups of drugs repels the corresponding diseases.
- 51 After due consideration of the case, [the physician] should administer enemas prepared with drugs appropriate to the situation: cold [enemas] for those afflicted with heat, and tepid [enemas] for those suffering from cold.
- 52 [A physician] should not give roborant enemas in diseases requiring purification therapy, nor [should they be given] to people who are fat, who require purification therapy, and who suffer skin affliction (*kuṣṭha*) or urinary disorders (*meḥa*).
- 53 [A physician] should not administer a purificatory [enema] to those who are weakened by pulmonary lesions (*kṣīṇakṣata*), those who are weak (*durbala*), those feeling faint (*mūr<c>chita*), those who are emaciated (*kṛṣa*), those who are dehydrated (*śuṣka*), and those whose bodies have [recently] been cleansed [by another purification therapy]; nor [should such an enema be administered] to those whose life depends on the “peccant” humours.

Thus [ends] the fourth chapter called ‘Preparation of Enemas’.

Notes to Chapter IV

Verse 1

Variants: AhKa 4(.1); cf. Mooss, 93; CaSi 3.1-2; cf. SuCi 38.1-2.

Tarte omits *iti ... maharṣayah*. Indu explains that the chapter concerns enema-treatment by means of purification therapy. Ah has *nāmādhyāyam* (var. omits). Ca: ‘Henceforth we shall expound the success relating to the teachings of enema preparations. Thus indeed declared Lord Ātreya.’ The editor of Ah explains that information in this chapter occurs at SuCi 37 and 38, involving the curing by means of oily, urethral and vaginal enemas (37), and by corrective (non-oily) enemas (38). A explains that enema-therapy is generally for the removal of “peccant” humours, as is indicated by the variant to Ah, v.1:

athāto doṣaharaṇasākalpaṃ basti ...

Verse 2

Parallel: AhKa 4.1; cf. Mooss, 93-94.

Variant: CaSi 3.13b-14a; cf. SuCi 38.47.

Indu explains that this verse describes the preparation of a decoction from the boiling of drugs of the *balā*-group, and that the quantity of one *pala* applies to each of the ten roots. To Ah, he adds that the *madana* fruits are to be understood (so also A). A states that there is to be one *pala* each of *balā*, etc., that the [seeds] of eight *madana*-fruits generally equal one *pala*, and that there are to be twenty-five *palas* of goat's meat. H says that this section begins the discussion of the corrective (non-oily) enemas (*nirūha*) and oily enemas (*anuvāsana*), and that corrective enema preparations destroy wind. Ca has *dve pañcamūle* for *dvipañcamūlam*. Su: 'A *pala* each of *guḍūcī*, *triphalā*, *rāsnā*, *daśamūlas*, and *bala* is decocted.' D explains that after having added water, these drugs are to be decocted and reduced to one-fourth part. On the two *pañcamūlas* see notes to AsKa 2.40-41. As and Ah derive largely from Ca.

Verses 3-4

Parallel: AhKa 4.2-3; cf. Mooss, 93-96.

Variant: CaSi 3.14b-16; cf. SuCi 38.47b-49.

Tarte has *guḍakṣaudryutaiḥ* (var. *ghṛtaiḥ*), and *praṇito* for *paṭhito* (this is a var. to Ah, which also has *kathito* as var.). The translation follows Indu and A. In 3a, Ah has variants *pūtaṃ* (so also Ca) and *pūte*. Ca: '[That decoction, first] filtered, [should then be] combined with the paste of *yavānī* ..., with treacle, honey and clarified butter, finally adding oil, and then slightly warmed in a quantity of a *picu* (= *karṣa*). One should add [to it] a *pala* of treacle, two *prasṛtas* of an oily substance, and honey and rock-salt. Having thrown [that substance] mixed with a stick into an enema-bag, and having deflated the well-tied [bag] free of wrinkles, after having closed its mouth with the middle of the thumb and after removing the pasty-plug situated at the end of the tube (i.e., nozzle) ...' Su: 'Mixing [that] decoction with (D: the paste of) *priyaṅgu*, *ghana*, rock-salt, *śatapuspā*, *vacā*, *kṛṣṇā*, *yavānī*, *kuṣṭha*, and *bilva* fruit, adding an *akṣa* of treacle, a half-*pala* of *madana* fruit, honey, oil, clarified butter, verjuice (*śukta*), fermented rice-water (*kāñjika*), and the scum of thick sour milk (*mastu*), [the physician] should administer this best corrective enema (*āsthāpana*) with [cow's] urine.' D explains the quantities as follows: two *palas* of milk, a half-*pala* each of verjuice, fermented rice-water, scum of thick sour milk, and cow's urine. As and Ah derive from Ca. Note that Ca's dis-

cussion of transferring the decoction to the enema bag and preparing the bag for use is wanting in As and Ah which focus on the recipe.

Verse 5

Parallels: AhKa 4.4; cf. Mooss, 96-98; CaSi 3.35b-36a.

Tarte notes that the decoction should be ‘combined with the paste of the previously [mentioned drugs] (*pūrvakalkasahitaḥ*)’. The translation follows Indu and Cakra. The three oily substances are clarified butter, marrow and fat (A, H); a fourth, excluded here, is oil. Indu claims that any of the three oily substances can be used in accordance with the excited humour, etc., and that some (including Cakra) say that the three include clarified butter, fat and oil, excluding the fourth, marrow. Most gloss *amla* as *kāñjika* ‘fermented rice-water’. As and Ah derive from Ca.

Verses 6-7

Parallel: AhKa 4.5-6; cf. Mooss, 98-99.

Variant: CaSi 3.36b-38a.

The translation follows Indu, A and H. Ca: ‘One prastha-quantity of a well-cooked decoction of the *sthirā* group of drugs (= the small *pañcamūla* drugs) combined with *balā*, *paṭola*, *trāyantikā*, *eraṇḍa* and barley, mixed with a half-prastha-quantity of goat’s [meat] broth Combined with the paste of *priyaṅgu* ..., this enema (*basti*) ... gives strength to the eyes’ (var. *dadāti sadyaḥ* for *dadāti bastiḥ*). As and Ah derive from Ca.

Verses 8-11

Parallel: AhKa 4.9-10; cf. Mooss, 99-101.

Variant: CaSi 3.38b-42; cf. SuCi 38.43-46.

The translation follows Indu and A. Ca: ‘[The physician should boil] in two *kamṣas* of water three *palas* of *eraṇḍa*-root, one *pala* each of the five small roots, of *rāsnā*, *aśvagandhā*, *atibalā*, *guḍucī*, *punarnavā*, *āragvadha* and *deva-dāru*, combined with one-*pala* portion of [the seeds of] eight *madana* fruits. When one eighth of this decoction remains, [he should add] a crushed *akṣa* of *śatāhvā*, *hapuṣā*, *priyaṅgu*, *pippalīka*, *madhuka*, and *balā* (var. *vacā*), *rasāñjana*, seeds of *vatsaka* and *musta*, combined with a portion of [rock-]salt. When employed, the castor-enema (*eraṇḍabasti*) should alleviate piercing pain in the shanks ... and back, enclosing by phlegm (*kaphāvṛti*), restraint of wind (*mārutanigraha*), retention of faeces, urine, and wind (*viṇmūtravātagrahaṇa*), piercing pain (*śūla*), tympanitis (*ādhmāna*), and both stones (*aśmari*) and gravel (*śarkarā*), obstructive abdominal swelling (*ānāha*), haemorrhoids

(*arśas*), and disorders involving chronic diarrhoea (*grahaṇī*).’ Su: ‘[The physician should prepare] a decoction with one pala each of śampāka, uruvu, varṣabhū, vājigandhā, niśācchada, the five small roots, balā, rāsnā, guḍūcī, and suradāru, combined with [a pala of the seeds] of eight madana fruits. [To this he should add] the paste (*kalka*) of māgadhikā, ambhoda, hapuṣā, misi, rock-salt, vatsa, priyaṅgu, ugrā, yaṣṭī, and rasāñjana. This corrective enema, completed with honey, etc., and lightly heated, should be administered for piercing pain in the back, thighs, and sacrum, stones (*aśman*), retention of faeces, urine, and wind (*viṇmūtrānilasaṅgin*), alleviation of chronic diarrhoea, wind, and haemorrhoids (*grahaṇīmārutārśoghna*), and for restoring blood, muscle-tone and strength.’ As and Ah derive from Ca. Su has a similar recipe.

Verse 12

Variant: CaSi 3.43; cf. SuCi 38.47-50.

Tarte and H (var.) have *chāgāc chatāhvādadhidāḍimāmlaḥ* ‘goat[’s meat-broth] ... acidified with śatāhvā, thick sour milk and dāḍima’. H (vars.) has *chāgācchavaraddho* (*chāgācchabaddho*) *guḍadāḍimāmlaḥ* ‘acidified with treacle and dāḍima’. The translation follows Indu and Cakra. Ca has a slightly different reading in b: ‘[is an enema] promoting strength, muscle-tone, complexion, semen, and digestive fire, and is recommended for blindness and headache (*āndhyaśiro’rtiśasta*, var.: *āndhyaśirorujāghna* ‘destroys dimness of vision and headache’).’ In Su, a different recipe cures similar ailments (see above, notes to AsKa 4.3-4). As derives from Ca whose variant uses terminology close to As. The verse is wanting in Ah.

Verses 13-14

Parallel: CaSi 3.46.

Variants: AhKa 4.11; cf. Mooss, 102; CaSi 3.47; cf. SuCi 38.55-59.

The variants to H produce the following in 14b: ...*vaivarnyaharo nirūhaḥ* ‘a corrective enema removing ... loss of colour (i.e., pale complexion)’, and *raktapitta...nirūhaḥ* ‘a corrective enema beneficial for haemorrhagic disorders ...’. The translation follows the commentaries. Indu points out that the use of water is understood because, he says, ‘one should remember that drugs do not give up their essences without water’. H understands the foremost milk to be cow’s milk. Ca 46a has the variant: ‘with eight palas of the root of yaṣṭī’; Ca 47 and Ah have *saśarkaram kṣaudrayuktam* ‘with the addition of candied sugar, combined with honey’ (var. as As, and so read by A). On the drugs of the jīvanīya group, see above, AsKa 1.29, notes (sometimes this group is equated to the madhura or sweet group of drugs; see above AsKa 2.5, notes);

and on the disease *vātarakta*, see CaCi 29, SuNi 1.40-50; and AsNi 16.1-17. Su has a somewhat different recipe which is effective, among others, against bilious disorders. As 13 corresponds to Ca 46, and As 14 to Ah 11 and Ca 47. As thus has a verse found in Ca, but not in Ah. Both As and Ah derive from Ca, but As includes one verse omitted by Ah. When compared to Ca, the text of As beginning with *yaṣṭyāhvā* is more complete than is that of Ah, suggesting that the latter was pruned, perhaps metri causa.

Verses 15-17

Variants: CaSi 3.53-55; cf. AhKa 4.12-16; cf. Mooss, 103-107.

For *balāsvaguptā*, H has *tugāsvaguptā*, with the following variants: *tugāśvagandhā*, *tugāśvaguptā*, and *tugātmaguptā*; for *rasena*, H (var.) has *svarase*; for *ghṛtaiś ca śītaḥ*, H (var.) has *yutaiś ca siddhaḥ*; for *dehadāhe*, H (var.) has *dehe dāhe*; for *saśūle 'vayavāśrite vā*, H (var.) has *saśūle jaṭharāśrite ca* 'piercing pain localised in the abdomen', and for *...kṣīnekṣata...*, H (var.) has the preferred reading *...kṣīnakṣata...*. H concludes with verses corresponding to AsKa 4.12-13. Ca: '[The physician] should prepare a bile-destroying enema consisting of milk boiled with an akṣa each of drākṣā, ṛddhi, kāśmarya (*drākṣādikāśmarya*, a misprint?), madhūka, and sevyā, with the addition of sārivā, candana, śītapakī, and of paste of śrāvaṇī, mudgaparnī, tugā, ātmaguptā, madhuyaṣṭī, and wheat flour, finally adding honey, clarified butter, and oil boiled with madhuyaṣṭī (Cakra), and vidārī, ikṣu, and treacle. It is recommended in the case of people suffering from burning sensation in the chest, navel, sides, and head (*uttama*), and burning sensation situated internally, with the accompanying condition of difficult urination, also in the case of people weakened by pulmonary lesions and whose semen has disappeared, and in the case of diarrhoea' (vars.: *pathyā* for *tathā*, and *udara* 'abdomen', for *uttama*, which Cakra reads and glosses as *mastaka* 'head, skull'). Based on the similarities in the readings, *tugā* appears to be equivalent to *balā*. Ah has a recipe containing some of the same ingredients, but the preparation varies considerably from that in As and Ca. As has no close parallel, but is clearly based on Ca; nevertheless, it has been simplified in terms of the diseases that the recipe can cure and in one case seems to have included a reading (i.e., *tailena yaṣṭīmadhusādhitena*) also specified in Cakra's commentary, suggesting that Cakra knew of As. In general, As clarifies the ambiguities found in Ca.

Verses 18-20

Parallel: AhKa 4.17-19a; cf. Mooss, 107-108.

Variant: CaSi 3.56-58a; cf. SuCi 38.60-63.

The translation follows Indu, A and Cakra. Ca 56a: ‘koṣātaka, ... śārṅgeṣṭā, mūrvā, ...’ (var. as As, Ah); 57b: ‘[a prasṛta-quantity each] of oil [cooked with the paste of madana] fruits [and acids] (*phalāhvataila*), of honey (*mākṣika*) (var. as As, Ah) ...’; 58a: ‘The one who knows (*jñā*) [should administer] ...’. Indu glosses *aśanavidviṣ* as *arocakin* ‘one suffering from loss of appetite’. As and Ah derive from Ca. As continues to follow Ca closely, while Ah begins again after a lacuna. As demonstrates unbroken adaptation from Ca, Ah does not. Su offers a recipe for a corrective enema used in phlegmatic disorders and other ailments, and contains many of the same ingredients as the others, but it cannot be considered as a basis for either As or Ah.

Verses 21-24

Variant: CaSi 3.65-68.

Tarṭe and H (var.) have *dhānyam phalāni*; and Tarṭe and H have *vidhijñas tam sasarva...*, which is the reading we follow. H: *palāśāḥ*; ... *prasṛtatrayeṇa*; H (var.): *palāśāt*, *yavāḥ kola...* (and *yavākola...*). H (var.) further has *sādhitaṃ tu kṣīrāvaśiṣṭam*; *āmalakaiś* in the place of *madanaiś*; *yuktair*; and *vidhivad vidhijñas sa ...*. The translation follows Indu and Cakra. Ca 65a has *vṛscīra*; 65b (var.) has *palāni* for *phalāni*; 66a has *yavān kola...*; 66b has *payo-jaladvādhakavac chṛtaṃ* (vars.: ...*dvyādhakapācitim*; ...*ardhādhakapācitam* ‘boiled in a half ādhaka ...’; ...*dvyādhakayoḥ śṛtam*); and *sitavastram ...*; at 67a (var.), *bilva* replaces *kuṣṭha*; 68a: *tathaiva* replaces *navasya*; and *prasṛtair tri-bhiś ca* (var. as As). As derives from Ca and continues to follow closely the presentation of information in Ca. Beginning with this verse, variants or parallels in Ah are wanting.

Verses 25-27

Variant: CaSi 10.18, 25-27; cf. SuCi 38.81.

Tarṭe and H (var.) have *pracakṣyate* for *pravakṣyate*; Tarṭe and H separate *nīlinī* and *phalam*, giving the possible rendering ‘... nīlinī and [madana] fruit’; and H has *sakalka...* for *svakalka...*. The translation follows Indu who states that various enemas are explained according to the arrangement of the half-śloka beginning with *koṣātakī*. Ca begins by stating that enemas successful in various illnesses are described in half-śloka (*ardhaśloka*). In other verses of Ca, *dhāmārgava* replaces the two *koṣātakīs*; a variant adds *kṣveḍa* to the list (Cakra glosses it as *kṛtavedhana*), replaces *triphalā* with *trivṛtā*; and adds *sthīrā* to the second list. Ca adds that the four are boiled in cow’s urine, and that they cleanse the bowels and can be used singly or collectively. Su has a much abbreviated recipe for the ‘cleansing enema (*śodhana-*

basti)': cleansing enemas are prepared by stirring with a ladle a decoction and paste of cleansing drugs (Ḍ: purgative and emetic drugs) mixed with oily substances and rock-salt. As derives from Ca and Su.

Verses 28-29

Variant: CaSi 10.30-31.

Tarṭe has *kadhirī*; Tarṭe and H (var.) have *priyaṅgūraktamūle* 'priyaṅgu and raktamūla'; H has *priyaṅgū raktamūlī*; Tarṭe and H (var.) have *bharaṇī* for *taruṇī*; H (var.) has *taruṇīyāti* (?) and *taruṇījāta*; Tarṭe: *rodhram*; and H has *kiṃśuko*. The translation follows Indu. In Ca, *agnimantha* replaces *tarkārī*; *raktamūlī* replaces *arkamūlī* (cf. variants to As); and *svarṇayūthikā* replaces *jāti* and *yūthikā*. The group of vaṭa drugs is the same as the nyagrodha drugs (see SuSū 38.48-49, AsSū 16.33-34, AhSū 15.41-42, and AsKa 3.10 and notes). As derives from Ca.

Verse 30

Variant: cf. SuCi 38.82,83,87.

H has *tu* for *ca*; H (vars.) has *triphalārase*, and *dehinaḥ* for *bṛmhaṇaḥ*. The translation follows Indu. At Su 87, grāhin enemas consist of the decoction of priyaṅgu drugs and (paste) of ambaṣṭhā drugs mixed with honey and clarified butter (Ḍ cites As !); at Su 82, lekhaṇa enemas consist of the decoction of triphalā with an admixture of the ūṣaka group of drugs and mixed with (cow's) urine, honey, and caustics [made from barley awns (i.e., potash, Ḍ)]; and at Su 83, bṛmhaṇa enemas (consist of) a decoction of roborant drugs (Ḍ: vidārī and gandhā), combined with the paste of sweet drugs (Ḍ: drugs of the kākoli group) and mixed with clarified butter and meat broth. According to Ḍ the last two recipes also include rock-salt. For the priyaṅgu and ambaṣṭhā groups of drugs, see SuSū 38.45-46, AsSū 16.29-31, and AhSū 15.37, for ūṣaka drugs, see AsSū 16.15, and AhSū 15.23, and for the sweet drugs, see AsSū 18.19, and AhSū 10.22-25a, and notes to AsKa 2.5 above. As appears to derive from Su. The added parts explaining the roborant enemas are based on Su.

Verse 31

Variant: SuCi 38.85.

Tarṭe has *śailū* and H has *śelū* for *śelu*. Tarṭe has *sāsrjāḥ*; and Atrideva has *picchilāsmṛtāḥ*. The translation follows Indu who provides another list of the plants: godhāpatī, airāvaṇī, śyāmā, and khaṭvānāmikā, which are probably regional synonyms. Su has *airāvatī* for *airāvaṇī*, and states that the young sprouts are 'boiled with milk (*kṣīrasiddhāḥ*), combined with honey (*kṣaudra-*

yutāḥ), and then provided with blood (*sāsrāḥ*)'. In the next verse (86), Su explains that the blood of swine, buffalo, ram, feline, deer, hen, or goat should be used. As derives from Su.

Verse 32

Variant: CaSi 10.33.

Tarte has *kolam katakakāṇḍekṣudarbhapāṭheḥṣuvālubhiḥ ... dvitīyaś cotpalādibhiḥ*; H: ... *darbhapaundrekṣuvālubhiḥ ... cotpalādibhiḥ*; H (vars.): *kālaṅkataka...*, *darbhapāṭheḥṣu...*, *darbhapoṭekṣupālibhiḥ*, *doṣaghnaḥ*, *yaś cāñjanādibhiḥ*, and *yaś candanādibhiḥ*. Indu glosses *ikṣupāli* with *ikṣu* (sugarcane). Ca: '... [is prepared] either with *kālaṅkataka*, ... *poṭagala*, and *ikṣu* (var.: *poṭa*, *ikṣuvāli*), or with the utpala group of drugs ...'. Cakra explains that the utpala drugs are types of water flowers, beginning with *nalina* and *saugandhika*. On the candana drugs, see the *dāhaghnaṅga* (AsSū 15.37); on the utpala drugs, see SuSū 38.52-53; and on the añjana drugs, see AsSū 16.6, and SuSū 38.41-42. The rendering is quite uncertain. The large number of variant readings suggests that the precise content of this recipe was unknown or lost; nevertheless, As clearly derives from Ca.

Verse 33

Variant: CaCi 10.36.

H has *śālmalikasya*; H (vars.): *muṣṭim*, *muṣṭiśālmali°*, *bastiḥ*, *ghṛtānvitaiḥ*, *hitaiḥ*, and *tadvad veṣṭaiḥ* (cf. Ca below). The translation follows Indu. Ca: 'An enema (*basti*) [prepared with] the peduncles of *śālmali* ..., or likewise with the exudations (*veṣṭa*) of *śālmali*, is beneficial in the case of dysentery.' The reading *basti* in Ca is in keeping with the subject matter of the chapter, whereas *muṣṭi* adds the notion of quantity previously not mentioned in this set of verses; *veṣṭa* refers to different products of the same plant (*śālmali*), while *vṛnta* in As, occurring again in line two, requires another plant (*śālmalaka*) in order to remove repetition. Both commentators are faithful to their respective texts. The problem does not lie with reading two different recipes, but with the textual transmission of one recipe, that of Ca, which was obviously corrupted some time before Indu. Variants testify to this difficulty, but As derives from Ca.

Verse 34

Variant: CaSi 10.34-35.

The translation follows Indu and Cakra. Ca has an expanded version of the recipe: 'A cold enema [prepared] with *karbudāra* ..., or with the peduncles of

śrīparṇī and kovidāra [boiled in milk], and supplied with honey and sugar, should be administered by a physician. [Indeed the enema is to be properly administered by an excellent physician versed in the correct medical procedures].’ The last line, says the editor, is not read in the hand-written manuscripts. As regards *parikarta*, it is the same as *parikartikā* which refers to a sharp or cutting wind-caused pain in the rectum (see CaSū 15.13 and AsŚā 11.2 and Indu; cf. CaCi 26.7 where the synonym *vikartikā* occurs). As derives from Ca, but has condensed Ca’s two verses into one by combining Ca 34 and 35a.

Verse 35

Variant: CaSi 10.32.

H (var.) has *ākhuparṇikayā*. The translation follows Indu and Cakra. Ca has *parisrāve* for *parisrave*, *vṛscīra* for *vṛscīva*, and *vāpi* for *tadvat*, with the following variant to its first line: *payah śṛtaṃ parisrāve*, which does not alter the meaning. As derives from Ca.

Verse 36

Variant: CaSi 10.37-38a.

H (var.) and Ca combine plants in the first line into a single dvandva compound, and Ca has *vidhinā paraḥ*. The translation follows Indu and Cakra. The four plants beginning with nyagrodha are enumerated by Cakra as nyagrodha, udumbara, aśvattha, and plakṣa, and by Indu as nyagrodha, pippala, sadāphala, and lodhra. As derives from Ca.

Verses 37-38

Variant: CaSi 10.38b-40.

Tarte and H have *śṛte* for *śṛtau*; H (vars.): ... *prṣṭhiparṇī* ... *tathā kṣīraṃ priyaṅgavaḥ* (or *kṣīrapriyaṅgavaḥ*) ... *gavyājamahiṣīkṣīrair* The translation follows Indu and Cakra who understand *jīvādāna* to be a condition of the loss of life-blood (*jīvarakta* or *jīvaśoṇita*) caused by the over-action (*atiyoga*) of an emetic or purgative (cf. also CaSū 15.13 and 20.14; and on *jīvādāna*, see above, AsKa 3.26 and notes). Ca has *tathā* for *api*. On the plants of the *jīvanīya* group, see above, notes to AsKa 4.13-14. As derives from Ca.

Verse 39

Parallel: CaSi 10.41.

Tarte and H have ...*mahiṣī* ... ‘the female buffalo ...’. The translation follows Indu who states that in conformity with the physician’s standard authority, the blood is squeezed onto the patient’s chest, in the region of the heart. This

implies that the treatment is not an enema, but a form of magico-religious healing involving associative magic and utilising perhaps enema equipment. On the meaning of *dakṣa* as cock (*kukkuṭa*), see Cakra at CaCi 11.26 (*goṣṭha-kukkuṭa* 'cow-house cock', or 'barn-yard cock'), and H at AhSū 7.16 (*kukkuṭa*). As derives from Ca.

Verses 40-41

Parallels: AhKa.20; cf. Mooss, 109-110; CaSi 8.2-3.

Variant: AhKa 19cd; cf. Mooss, 108-109.

Ca (var.) has *śodhanān* for *snehanān*; and Ah (var.) has *tu* for *ca*. AhKa 4.19cd is similar in content to AsKa 40: 'I shall describe separately mild and oily corrective enemas, using *prasṛta* quantities, for those accustomed to the easy life.' Since repetition would result, the parallel to v.40 is omitted in the edition of the Ah with Indu's commentary (presumably it was not in the mss.), but receives a mention in the editor's note. It does however occur in the Bombay edition (as v.20) and receives comment from A and H. The translation is based on the remarks of the commentators who state that a *prasṛta* is equal to two *palas*. For v.41, Indu (at Ah) and A maintain that a paste (*kalka*), composed of the *balā* drugs (see AsKa 4.2), should be added; Cakra however claims that, according to the prescribed procedures for enemas, if no paste (*kalka*) is mentioned in the recipe, none is to be added. Both As and Ah derive from Ca. The omission of AsKa 4.40 in Ah with Indu's commentary indicates that it was considered redundant by Indu and previous compilers. Ah's v.19cd is wanting in As and Ca, suggesting that it was a later insertion into the text which had the same material as As and Ca, and served to complete Ah 19 in a single metre before beginning a new section with a different metre. There is a total of seven enemas in this section beginning with AsKa 4.41.

Verse 42

Parallels: AhKa 4.21; cf. Mooss, 110-111; CaSi 8.5.

The translation follows the commentaries. Indu (to Ah) has *savātajit*, which he understands to mean the enema which conquers wind combined with another *doṣa*. This explanation, however, is wanting in As, where the text is quite clear: *sa* (= *bastiḥ*) *vātajit*, and is understood as such by Indu who explains this as the second enema in the group. Indu and A consider the roots beginning with *bilva* to be the five big roots (*mahāpañcamūla*); Cakra states that it refers to the ten roots (*daśamūla*). On the groups of roots, see notes to AsKa 2.41. The alcoholic beverage *prasannā* is often equated with *madirā* and *vāruṇī* and

is the clear upper part of surā-liquor. It is sometimes mentioned as a liquor distilled from rice, and combined with medicinal herbs (see *MādhNi* 485,497,515; *SuSū* 45.177b-178a and *Ḍ*; and notes to *AsKa* 2.58). Beginning with this verse, note the use of ablatives in a genitive sense with numbers.

Verse 43

Parallel: *AhKa* 4.22-23a; cf. Mooss, 111-112.

Variant: *CaSi* 8.8-9a.

Tarte has *bhūtika* for *pūtika*. Variants to *Ah* have *bhūtika* for *pūtika*; ...*saptacchadāmbhasām*; *prasṛtāḥ* ...; and ...*pramohahā*. The translation follows Indu and A. *Ca* has a slightly different reading: ‘A quantity of four *prasṛtas* of a decoction of *paṭola*, *nimba*, *bhūnimba*, *rāsnā*, and *saptacchada*, and one *prasṛta* of clarified butter, with the addition of the paste of *sarṣapa* – this is the “five bitter drug” (*pañcatikta*) corrective enema (*nirūha*), which removes urinary disorders (*meḥa*) (var. *moha*, ‘mental confusion’), a body moistened [internally by the “peccant” humours] (*abhiṣyanda*) and skin disease (*kuṣṭha*).’ Cakra states that the quantity of the paste of *sarṣapa* should be five-sixths of a *pala*. Indu (at *Ah*) explains that *pañcatikta* could either be five bitter drugs or the name of the corrective enema, but opts for the former and enumerates the five bitters as follows: *nimba*, *amṛtā*, *vṛṣa*, *paṭola*, and *nidigdhikā*, while at *As*, *guḍūcī* replaces *amṛtā* in his list. H says that the recipe is for a corrective enema (*nirūha*) called *pañcatikta*. The difficulty lies with *sapañcatikta* in *As* and *Ah*, which indicates that the five bitter drugs are to be added last. However, according to *Ca* the five drugs beginning with *paṭola* are the five bitter drugs giving the enema its name. Clearly *Ca* appears to be the more original reading, for *As* and *Ah* provide a recipe which includes the repetition of drugs like *paṭola* and *nimba*. It is possible that during the transmission of this recipe corruptions occurred and were incorporated into the texts of *As* and *Ah*. Thus *As* and *Ah* are corruptions of *Ca*. On *abhiṣyanda* and *prameha*, see *AsKa* 2.62 and notes.

Verse 44

Variant: *CaSi* 8.9b-10.

Tarte and H (var.) have ... *karnijāḥ*; *kaṣāyāḥ*; H (var.): ... *mustākhuparnijāt* ... *vimathyām*; and H has *vailla*... for *vella*.... The last line is inserted in H’s comments. The translation follows Indu and Cakra. *Ca* has *viḍaṅgapippalikalko nirūhaḥ krimināśanaḥ*. *As* derives from *Ca* and follows closely *Ca*’s order of verses in this section. *Ah* deviates from *Ca* by omitting this verse.

Verse 45

Parallel: CaSi 8.11.

Variant: AhKa 4.24b-25a; cf. Mooss, 114.

Tarte and Ah have ... *sarpiṣaḥ*. The translation follows the commentaries which in turn follow Cakra who understands that the enema consists of prasṛta quantities of the decocted juices of each of the plants beginning with payasyā. Cakra, A and Indu take *vṛṣatvakṛt* ‘promoting virility’, to mean *śukravṛddhikṛt* ‘promoting the increase of semen’. As and Ah derive from Ca; As closely follows Ca. With this verse, Ah ends the discussion of enemas with ingredients measured in prasṛta quantities, and begins to describe the siddha enemas.

Verse 46

Parallel: AhKa 4.23b-24a; cf. Mooss, 113-114.

Variant: CaSi 8.12.

Tarte omits the entire second line. The translation follows the commentaries. Ca has *kalkair* for *piṣṭair*, which is a variant reading in Ca. Ah (vars.): ... *bhedinaḥ* (and *bhedanāḥ*). The literal meaning of line two is, according to Indu, that the enema breaks up the bound together faeces (*viḍbandha*) which occurs without abdominal swelling. As and Ah derive from Ca. As closely follows Ca’s sequence of verses, while Ah reverses this and the previous verse.

Verse 47

Variant: CaSi 8.13-14.

Tarte omits the first two lines, and in the printed edition of H, they are inserted. In line three, Tarte and H have *paro* for *varo*, and H (var.) has *sānāhamūtrakṛcchraharo varo* The translation follows Indu and Cakra. Ca 13-14a have the following variants: ... *yaṣṭyāhvakauntīmāgadhikāsītāḥ; kalkaḥ syān mūtrakṛcchre tu sānāhe bastir uttamah* (var. *kalko bastir tu sānāhe mūtrakṛcchre paro mataḥ*) ‘... [combined with] the paste of yaṣṭyāhva, kauntī, māgadhikā, and gound sugar (*sītā*), should be (var. is indeed considered to be) the best enema indeed in the case of painful urination (*mūtrakṛcchra*) accompanied by obstructive abdominal swelling (*ānāha*).’ Ca 14 adds the following: *ete salavaṇāḥ koṣṇā nirūhāḥ prasṛtair nava* ‘These, used with warm water and the addition of salt, [constitute] a corrective enema consisting of nine prasṛtas’. Clearly this indicates that in addition to five prasṛtas consisting of the decoctions, oil and surā-liquor, four additional prasṛtas constitute each of the ingredients of the paste (i.e., one prasṛta each of yaṣṭyāhva, kauntī, māgadhikā, and ground sugar). As modified Ca by compressing the information and by omitting the fourth ingredient, *sītā*, to fit into a recipe of three

metrical lines. The text of the first two lines is wanting in Tarṭe's edition and H's commentary, and all three lines are omitted in Ah, indicating a corruption in the transmission of As before the time of Indu who comments on a standardised text.

Verse 48

Parallel: AhKa 4.67b-68a (66b-67a); cf. Mooss, 142.

Variant: CaSi 8.15; cf. SuCi 36.22.

The translation follows the commentaries to As and Ah. Indu introduces this verse by stating that it concerns the use of mild enemas which are harmful to the bowels. A and Indu explain *mṛdubastijaḍībhūta* as blockage in the bowels caused by the humour's non-issuance out of the bowels by the action of an enema with mild drugs (A: *koṣṭhād bahir aniḥsaraṇāt*; Indu: *mṛdunā bastinā jaḍībhūte apravartamānadoṣe dehe*); and A describes *vikarṣita* as the humours flowing out of the bowels. Both words are in the locative absolute construction. A further describes harsh enemas as those prepared with medicines beginning with cow's urine, and mild enemas as those consisting of drugs with unctuous, sweet and cooling properties (see next verse). Ah (var.) has *mṛdubastau jaḍībhūte*. Ca has *tīkṣṇair vikarṣite svādu pratyāsthāpanam iṣyate* (var. *pratyāsthāpanam eva vā* '... in the case of the out-pouring [of "peccant" humours] by the action of an enema with harsh drugs, a corrective-like enema with sweet [drugs] is recommended'. Cakra explains that the enema with sweet drugs is prepared with drugs such as *drākṣā*. At Su, it is said that an enema that is (too) unctuous causes excessive stiffness (*atijāḍya*, which D glosses as 'causing the [humours] to flow abundantly'), and an enema that is (too) rough causes stiffness (*stambha*) and tympanitis (*ādhmāna*). Therefore, one should administer a rough enema in cases involving the use of too unctuous enemas, and an unctuous enema in cases involving the use of enemas that are too harsh. As and Ah derive from Ca. As maintains closeness to Ca by following the same sequence of verses. Ah introduces this verse after an interval of several unrelated verses.

Verse 49

Parallel: AhKa 4.69; cf. Mooss, 142.

Variant: CaSi 7.63.

The translation follows the commentaries to As and Ah. Ah (var.) has *mūtra-pīlvagni... kṣīrādyaiś caiva mārḍavam*. Ca replaces *bilva* with *pīlu* which Cakra explains is a fruit from the north, but also states that some read *bilva*, and has ... *kṣīrādyair mārḍavaṃ tathā*. Cakra's mention of *bilva* as a possible

variant reading suggests that it might indeed be quite early. As and Ah derive from Ca. As's close association with the readings in Ca is disrupted, as the variant comes from a different chapter (CaSi 7). As and Ah now begin to share a close connection from this verse to the end of the chapter. In addition to CaSi 7, both As and Ah derive their material from CaSi 10.

Verse 50

Parallel: AhKa 4.70 (68); cf. Mooss, 142-143.

Variant: CaSi 10.4.

Tarte has *balakāladeśasātmyaprakṛtiḥ* '[the patient's] physical strength, the time, the region, [his] suitability, and [his] disposition'. Ah has the following variants: *balakāladeśasātmyaprakṛtiḥ ... svān doṣān nivartayati*. Ca has ... *yojitāḥ samyak ... svān svān rogān* (var. *tān tān rogān*) *niyacchanti* '... [enemas] properly administered ... check the corresponding diseases'. The commentators are in general agreement that this verse expresses the fundamental principle that an enema (or any therapy) is efficacious only if it matches both the patient and his particular humoric disorder. All three factors, patient, treatment and malady, must be in agreement with each other. As and Ah derive from Ca.

Verse 51

Parallel: AhKa 4.71(69); cf. Mooss, 143.

Variant: CaSi 10.10.

The translation follows the commentaries which, like H, emphasise the use of enemas with opposite qualities, which counteract the morbid bodily condition. Indu (to As and Ah) states that heat (*uṣṇa*) means drugs which have hot quality, and cold indicates drugs which have cold (*śīta*) quality. Candranandana (10th cent.), as quoted in the notes to Kuṇṭe's edition of the Ah, explains that heat (*uṣṇa*) refers to bile (*pitta*) or to hot foods (*āhāra*) and amusements, and that cold (*śīta*) refers to wind and phlegm (*vātaśleṣman*), or to cold foods and amusements. Whatever the cause, the physical manifestation is either hot or cold. Ca has *vinīyujyāt* for *yuñjīta*, and the variant *sarvatra* 'in every case' for *santarkya*. As and Ah derive from Ca from whose context it is clear that this verse applies to all types of enemas (see CaSi 10.8-9). As and Ah may well have included this verse because it served to summarise the previous teachings on enemas occurring in Ca.

Verse 52

Parallel: AhKa 4.72(70); cf. Mooss, 143.

Variant: CaSi 10.11.

Tarṭe has *medaḥsvino* for *medasvino*. The translation follows Indu. Ah (var.) has ... *vyādhiṣu ca viśodhanīyeṣu*; and *api* for *ca* (so also Ca). Cakra explains that the people require evacuation therapy because of the preponderance of the “peccant” humours. Missing the *na ... api* construction, P.V. Sharma mistranslates line b as ‘the obese and those suffering from kuṣṭha and prameha require evacuation’ (Vol. 2, 658). As and Ah derive from Ca.

Verse 53

Parallel: AhKa 4.73(71); cf. Mooss, 144.

Variant: CaSi 10.12.

Tarṭe has *mūrcchita* for *mūrchita*, and *iti bastikalpo nāmā caturtho 'dhyāyaḥ*, which we read. Paṛiśodhya has *kalpasthāne ... 'dhyāyaḥ*. Ah (var.) has *hy ete* for *ye ca*; and Ca has *yuñjād* for *dadyād*. The translation follows the commentaries which, however, differ slightly in their explanations of *doṣa-nibaddhāyus*. Indu (at As) claims that because of the weakened state of their bodily elements (*dhātu*), these people remain alive by means of bodily excrements (*purīṣa*); therefore, they must not be given purificatory enemas. His explanation to Ah follows along the same lines, incorporating the reading *hy ete*, and adding that because of the destruction of the humours (by evacuative therapy), there would be danger to life. A's explanation is identical; however, he appears to understand *doṣa* as the “peccant” humours’ which, if evacuated by a purificatory enema, cause danger to the lives of those whose existence depends on the “peccant” humours. Cakra understands that those whose bodies depend on the various impurities (*malādi*) suffer from consumption (*śoṣin*) and excessive weakness (*atidurbala*). In support of this he cites CaCi 8.88: ‘The one suffering from consumption (*śoṣin*) leaves his body (i.e., dies) even after simple purgation of excrements (*purīṣa*). How much more so he who is given a purgation in measure without regard to his physical strength.’ Whether *doṣa* in this verse refers to specific waste-products (*purīṣa*), as Indu claims, or simply to the “peccant” humours’, as occurring in the texts and explained by A, the action of a purifying enema would completely remove all these impurities and therefore should be avoided in anyone whose life must be sustained by having quantities of them in their system. Such an individual, Cakra implies, is someone who suffers from any one of the afflictions mentioned in the first part of the verse. As and Ah derive from Ca.

Two *Karmavipāka* Texts on Curing Diseases and Other Misfortunes

DAVID PINGREE

One method of curing patients of diseases in India, as in Greek and Islamic influenced civilisations, was (and is) through iatromathematics, that is, the application of astrology to medicine. The oldest text describing iatromathematical procedures consists of chapters 65-66 (cf. also chapter 62 on materia medica) of the *Yavanajātaka*¹ composed in 269/70 by Sphujidhvaja largely on the basis of a Sanskrit translation of a Greek text on astrology made by Yavaneśvara² in 149/50. The *Yavanajātaka*'s lead was followed by many Indian authors of works in the Praśna and Muhūrta branches of Jyotiḥśāstra. This tradition draws upon the methods developed in Greek astrology in the early centuries of the Roman Empire.

An indigenous Indian form of iatromathematics is found in a subset of texts on *karmavipāka*, the ripening of the fruits of actions performed in previous incarnations. One result of bad *karman*, of course, is bad health, especially the diseases of children, but other forms of chronic illness as well. Such diseases as are caused by *karmavipāka* cannot be effectively treated by Āyurveda, but require appropriate rituals of *prāyaścitta*, magic, and *sānti* to deal with the illnesses. The most prominent text that deals with these applications is the *Madanamahārṇava*³ written by Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa⁴ in about 1375, but commonly attributed to his patron, Māndhātṛ.⁵

Perhaps the earliest *karmavipāka* text to combine astrology with this form of treatment is the *Vīrasimhāvaloka* composed in 1382 by or for the Ṭomara rājā of Delhi, Vīrasimha.⁶ Another fairly early text of this type is the

¹ D. Pingree, *The Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja* (Harvard Oriental Series 48), Cambridge, MA 1978 (2 vols.).

² See vol. 5, p. 330b of: D. Pingree, *Census of the Exact Sciences in Sanskrit, Series A, vols. 1-5*, Philadelphia 1970-1994 (henceforth CESS).

³ Edited by E. Krishnamacharya and M.R. Nambiyar, Baroda 1953 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series 117), and by Rāmacandra Śāstrin, Kavalakki 1993.

⁴ CESS, vol. 5, pp. 691b-699a.

⁵ CESS, vol. 4, pp. 419b-420a.

⁶ CESS, vol. 5, pp. 711a-712b.

Jñānabhāskara, which is presented as a dialogue, as are many *karmavipāka* texts – in this case, between Sūrya and his charioteer, Aruṇa. A large number of manuscripts of this *Jñānabhāskara* or *Sūryāruṇasamvāda* is extant. The oldest of these of which I am aware is the manuscript 3380 at the Oriental Institute in Baroda; it was copied in Saṃvat 1585 = A.D. 1528, so that the work was composed as early as the fifteenth century if not somewhat earlier. It deals with diseases regarded as consequences of both the astrological forces determined by the patient's horoscope and the forces of *karmavipāka*; the former are allayed by *śānti*, the latter by *prāyaścitta* rituals.

There is a rarer dialogue on *karmavipāka* between Sūrya and Aruṇa called the *Vṛddhasūryāruṇasamvāda*. This is of special interest because of its use of case-histories to confirm its argument that the mixed *karmavipāka* and iatromathematical methodology it prescribes is effective. The *Vṛddhasūryāruṇasamvāda* was published early in this century,⁷ but I have used the earliest known manuscript, 848 at the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine in London. This is an enormous (but incomplete!) manuscript of 656 folia, bound like a Persian book; its copying was finished on Sunday 22 August 1784, while its composition is probably to be dated earlier in the eighteenth century. When complete the text contains 2441 adhyāyas.

The work begins with a computation based on the akṣaras by means of which the birth-place, caste, sex, longevity, etc. of an individual are determined (adhyāya 2-12). There follow descriptions of and gifts for the deities who are to be propitiated: Gaṇeśa, Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, Sūrya, Candra, Bhauma, Budha, Guru, Śukra, Śani, Rāhu, Ketu, Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛti, Varuṇa, Kubera, Vāyu, Śiva, Pañcavaktra Śiva, Ākāśa, Pṛthivī, Gaurī, Bhairava, Skanda, Vīrabhadra, Kālapuruṣa, Kālacakra, Jvara, Brahma, Brahmanī, Prajāpati, Viṣṇu, Garuḍa, and Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa (adhyāyas 13-50). The next group of adhyāyas is devoted to describing the mantras and rituals to be employed (adhyāyas 51-117; adhyāyas 62-103 are missing). There follows a long gap due to the omission of adhyāyas 118-500, following which are twelve chapters (adhyāyas 501-512) on procedures for removing specific diseases.

This has brought us to f. 75v; the remaining 580 or so folia contain “biographies” of individuals in which the situation of each in a previous birth (country, varṇa, profession, sex, family, and good and bad deeds) is described,

⁷ At Mumbayī in Saṃvat 1966, Śaka 1831 = A.D. 1909.

his or her situation in the present, and the *prāyaścittas* he or she has or should have performed to remove the *pāpakarmaphala* of that previous birth; often some of the data from the horoscope of the “present” birth are also given to show that the patient’s *karman* has caused him or her to be born at a time when the horoscope would lead to his or her present unfortunate condition. The horoscope could also be used to determine the details of the person’s bad *karman* in the previous life, the ripening of whose fruit is now being experienced.

This collection of almost two thousand biographical sketches, while much must be fictitious, is probably in good part based on an astrologer’s record of case-histories. It thereby provides the possibility of recovering a detailed notion of what a more or less educated person living in northern India in the eighteenth century (I assume that the date of the manuscript does not differ substantially from the date of the composition of the work) conceived plausible lives of individuals at many levels of society to be like in broad outline; it also shows how, through *prāyaścittas* determined in part by astrology, an individual could hope to escape the evil effects of his *karman* and obtain, not *mokṣa*, but the more worldly rewards of spouse, children, wealth, status, and good health.

As one example of the case-histories found in this work I offer below a tentative edition of adhyāya 517, which is preserved on ff. 78-78v of the London manuscript (pointed brackets enclose akṣaras added by me):

śrīsūrya uvāca |
vainateya mahābhāga śṛṇu vāsya viceṣṭitam ||
kaścīd vipro 'bhavat pūrvam vaṅgadeśe 'pi grāmapaḥ ||
dharmaśāstrakriyādhītaḥ^a pitroḥ sukhasamanvitaḥ ||
dattāni tena dānāni brāhmaṇeṣu ca śaktitaḥ ||
satpātreṣu gr̥hastheṣu śraddhāpūtena cetasā ||
mṛgayā<m> yo gato vipraḥ kadācid daivayogataḥ ||
ghorakarma kṛtaṁ tena prārambhe yauvanasya ca ||
luṅṭito brāhmaṇas tatra prahārair duḥkhito bhr̥śam ||
hato 'py āyurbalenaiva sa mṛtyuvaśasaṁgataḥ^b ||
brahmasvam iti tad gatvā na bhukte kenacid gr̥he ||
tenaiva bhakṣitaṁ sūta yena vipraḥ prapīditaḥ ||
sa gatvā yamalokaṁ tu bhuktvā tu yamaśāsanam ||
pātradānavaśāt sūta saṁjātaḥ kṣatriyo 'dhunā ||

deśe vipāśike lagne cāpaṣaṅge 'stage ravau ||
meṣage rāhuyukte na somarkṣe vidhusaṁyute ||
sa gauro darśanīyākṣaḥ <pra>lamb<o> 'svalpavittabhāk ||
dharmavācyamatir mātṛsā<s> ṛpitṛsamanvitaḥ ||
dānādikaṁ gr̥hastheṣu phalaṁ pāpaphalaṁ śṛṇu ||
yatra yatra kṛtā ghātā<ḥ> prāgbhave brāhmaṇasya ca ||
iha janmani tatṛāsti bālye kuṣṭhagadānvitaḥ ||
atho strīputrahīno 'tra jāyate garuḍāgraja ||
yauvane 'pi ca vārddhikye tasyedaṁ karmaṇaḥ phalaṁ ||
ebhiś ca lakṣaṇaiḥ sūta lakṣaṇīyo 'tra pr̥cchakaḥ ||
nihkṛtiṁ paramāṁ sūta vakṣyāmi śṛṇu tattvataḥ ||
gāyatrīm vidhinājasrā<m> koṭiṁ śuddhim avāpnuyāt ||
prayogī niva<pa>ne dhīraḥ kā<r>śyāmbāgarujāṅgulaiḥ^c ||
athāṣṭamasahasrāṇi japtvā kuryād ayaṁ vidhi<m> ||
hiraṇmayau somaviprau kāryau svarṇāṣṭakāv ubhau ||
pa<vi>trārdanāvālekhyau^d sarvalakṣaṇasaṁyutau ||
deyau dvijāya vidhivat pūjayitvātha yatnataḥ ||
prāyaścitte kṛte śvetakuṣṭhahāniḥ prajāyate ||
strīputrasukham atraiva bhavaty eva na saṁśayaḥ ||
prāyaścittaṁ na kuryāc ced bhaved rogavivarddhanam ||
na putrasukham āpnoti sa jīvati kadācana ||
riṣṭaṁ dvātriṁśadabde tu jīvanam hy aṣṭasaptatiḥ ||
ānantiyāt khalu jīvānāṁ vistaraṁ noditaṁ mayā ||

a. ms.: °kriyāhīno

b. ms.: °vaśagaṁ gataḥ

c. ms.: kāśyāṁvādgarujāṁgule

d. ms.: patre 'rdanavālekhyai

The astrologer's client (*pr̥cchaka*), in this case, was a Kṣatriya from Vipāśikadeśa in the Panjab, who, while enjoying many advantages, was a leper and had neither wife nor children. From his present condition, his horoscope, and, presumably, calculations based on the akṣaras of his name, the astrologer has reconstructed the outline of his previous existence as a pious Brāhmaṇa in Bengal, who had, through the agency of fate, slain a Brāhmaṇa in his youth. Further, he has prescribed a *prāyaścitta* designed both to cure the client of his disease and to assure him of obtaining a wife and children.

Another *karmavipāka* text, which may have been composed before the *Vṛddhasūryārūṇasaṁvāda* (the earliest known manuscript – Smṛti 35 in the Calcutta Sanskrit College – was copied in Saṁvat 1783 = A.D. 1726), is the

*Karmavipākasaṃhitā*⁸ in the form of a dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī. This also is a work that teaches through examples. The text describes the lives of individuals born when the moon is in each of the 108 'feet' or quarter-parts of the nakṣatras, traces their reincarnations down to the present one, describes the ripening of their *karman* in this life, including diseases, and discloses the *prāyaścitta* or *sānti* rituals by which they may be cured of their ills. The first lives, in which the *karman* is accumulated and which are often vivid and realistic, may be based on reality. I quote adhyāya 30 as an example; in this case the present birth takes place when the moon is in the third 'foot' of Punarvasu so that the appropriate *karmavipāka* may occur.

śiva uvāca |

puryām avantikāyām vai nāpito vasati priye ||
svakarmanah paribhraṣṭaḥ kṛṣikarmarataḥ sadā ||
patnī tasya mahādevi parapuṃsi ratā sadā ||
karkaśā nāma vikhyātā dardurā nāma nāmataḥ ||
ekasmin divase devi vaiśyo dhanasamanvitaḥ ||
svarṇakoṭim ca saṅgrhya nikṣēṣe tasya cāgataḥ ||
nāpitenā tato devi vaiśyo dhanasamanvitaḥ ||
arddharātre gate kāle tataḥ khadgena vai hataḥ ||
dravyam sarvam grhītvā tu tāṃ purīm ca tatas tyajan ||
sarvam svarṇam vyayam kṛtvā na dānam ca kṛtam kvacit ||
ekadā samaye devi nāpitenā saha striyā ||
prayāge makare māsi māsam ekaṃ nirantaram ||
pratyaham kriyate snānam bhāryayā sahitenā vai ||
godānam ca kṛtam tena vṛṣabham svarṇabhūṣitam ||
tato vai maraṇam tasya nāpitasya sureśvari ||
nirjale tasya vai deśe copale pathi madhyage ||
yamadūtair mahādevi narake nāma kardame ||
kṣipto yamājñayā varṣasahasraṣaṣṭisaṃmitam ||
narakān nirgato devi vyāghrayonis tato 'bhavat ||
punar mahiṣayoniṃ ca mānuṣatvam tato gataḥ ||
ṛkṣe punarvasau devi tṛtīyacaraṇe vare ||
prātaḥsnānaphalam devi nṛpavaṃśe samudbhavaḥ ||
madhyadeśe varārohe śarayvā uttare tate ||
mahādhanena saṃyuktaś caurāṇām karmakārakaḥ ||

⁸ I have used the edition of Mahārājadīna Dīkṣita, Bambaī 1922.

patnī tasyābhavad vandhyā mṛtavatsā sutāyutā ||
 kapharogasamāyuktā jvareṇaiva prapīḍitā ||
 mitrasyaiva vadhah pūrvam nāpitenā yataḥ kṛtaḥ ||
 tena karmaphalenaiva mahārogasamudbhavaḥ ||
 putro 'pi jāyate devi tasya mṛtyur abhūt kila ||
 śāntim tasya pravakṣyāmi śṛṇu devi samāsataḥ ||
 gāyatrī mūlamantreṇa pañcalakṣajapā yadā ||
 tadā pāpam kṣayam yāti pūrvajanmani yat kṛtam ||
 harivaṁśasya śravaṇam caṇḍīpāṭham śivārcanam ||
 vidhivad devi kartavyam pāpam sarvaṁ vinaśyati ||
 caturasre tataḥ kuṇḍe homam caiva tu kārayet ||
 tiladhānyādibhir devi daśaṁśajapasamkhyayā ||
 vaiśyasya pratimāṁ devi kārayed vai suvarṇataḥ ||
 pañcaviṁśapalenaiva racitāṁ ca prayatnataḥ ||
 tāmrapātre śubhe sthāpya pūjayet pratimāṁ tataḥ ||
 mantreṇānena bho devi gandhapuṣpākṣatādibhiḥ ||
 om namas te devadeveśa śaṅkhacakraḡadādhara ||
 ajñānād vā pramādād vā mayā pāpam kṛtam purā ||
 tat sarvaṁ kṣamyatām deva śaraṇāgatavatsala ||
 om cakradharāya namaḥ |
 om govindāya namaḥ |
 om dāmodarāya namaḥ |
 om kṛṣṇāya namaḥ |
 om haṁsāya namaḥ |
 om paramahaṁsāya namaḥ |
 om acyutāya namaḥ |
 om hr̥ṣīkeśāya namaḥ |
 om cakradharādibhir nāmnā sarvadikṣu prapūjayet ||
 pratimāṁ pūjayitvā tu tāṁ viprāya pradāpayet ||
 tato gāṁ kṛṣṇavarṇāṁ tu brāhmaṇāya pradāpayet ||
 pañcasāṅkhyāmitām devi pradadyād vai kulāya ca ||
 brāhmaṇān bhojayed devi yathāsaṅkhyam varānane ||
 evam kṛte varārohe śīghram putraḥ prajāyate ||
 vandhyātvam nāśayaty āśu sarvarogo vinaśyati ||

In this case the client is a rich thief, born on the northern bank of the Śarayū in the family of a king, whose wife is childless, suffering from a phlegm disease accompanied by a fever; the thief also suffers from a grave illness. When a son is born to this couple, he dies. From the nakṣatra-‘foot’ in

which the client was born and his present calamities the practitioner is able to determine that he was once a barber in Avantikā, whose adulterous wife, named Dardurā (Durdarā, 'Distressing') was indeed *karkaśā* ('harsh'). He slew a visiting Vaiśya, later called his friend, stole his money (10,000,000 gold coins), and fled the city with his wife; the couple then spent the money on themselves without sharing any of it. But later on the barber and his wife spent a whole month bathing daily at Prayāga, and gave a bull adorned with gold. At his death the barber was cast into the Filthy Hell for 60,000 years, after which he was reborn as a tiger and a buffalo before reaching his present reincarnation as a man. The practitioner prescribes an elaborate *śānti* ritual which includes his giving a Brāhmaṇa (the practitioner?) a golden image of a Vaiśya weighing twenty-five palas and a black cow.

Neither of these texts is exclusively directed towards solving clients' medical problems as are the *Madanamahārṇava*, the *Vīrasimhāvaloka*, and the *Jñānabhāskara*, but illness is an important human difficulty that they attempt to remove. While they say little about the theory of the treatment, their practice indicates its broad outlines. Disease and other human disasters may be the result of bad *karman* acquired in previous incarnations. This may be detected and described through astrology and other divinatory means, and cured by *prāyaścitta* and *śānti* rituals. These *karmavipāka* texts, then, constituted in India an alternative medical system to that of Āyurveda. One of their most interesting features is their use of examples that seem at least in part to be based on real events as a teaching device. Such a paedagogical method I have not met elsewhere in the scientific literature in Sanskrit, aside from the often fantastic *uddeśakas* of mathematical texts and the computational *udāharaṇas* of *grahagaṇitaṭīkāś*.

The So-Called *Ḍākinīkalpa*: Religious and Astrological Medicine According to a North-West Indian Collective Manuscript (I)

ADELHEID HERRMANN-PFANDT

Frau Gertraud Eimer zum 21.9.1997
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Introduction. In his work on the magico-religious aspects of Indian medicine,¹ G.U. THITE has – in the words of one of his reviewers² – stated that:

‘notwithstanding the scientific elements in ancient Indian medicine, its basic assumption[s] are that the diseases are caused not so much by physical derangements or deficiencies in man as by the influence of evil spirits, irreligious sinful conduct, unfavourable stars and black magic and that the cures too are to be effected not so much by means of any physiotherapeutic or pharmaceutical remedies as by means of pacificatory and expiatory rituals and religious observances.’

Even if this description on the whole perhaps overstates the role of religion and magic in Indian medicine, there are without any doubt many sources which perfectly fit in with the picture drawn here. Some short sources of this kind are gathered in a Sanskrit codex known by the name of *Ḍākinīkalpa*,³ the only known manuscript of which is kept by the former Raghunath Temple Library, now called Shri Ranbir Sanskrit Research Institute, in Jammu.⁴

Among the many manuscripts with a title beginning with the term *ḍākinī*

¹ G. U. THITE, *Medicine. Its Magico-Religious Aspects according to the Vedic and Later Literature*, Poona 1982. Cf. the review articles by Rahul Peter DAS (in *Indo-Iranian Journal* 27, 1984, 232-244) and Arion ROŞU (‘Pratiques magico-religieuses en médecine indienne’, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 30, 1986, 83-89).

² A.D.W. in *Prācī-Jyoti. Digest of Indological Studies* 18-19, 1982-83, 207.

³ Concerning this title, which seems not to be the original one, see below.

⁴ See M[arc] A[urel] STEIN, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Raghunatha Temple Library of His Highness The Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir*, Prepared for the Kashmir State Council, Bombay/London/Leipzig 1894, 229 (Section Tantra); M. M. PATKAR, *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Shri Ranbir Sanskrit Research Institute, Jammu (Kashmir)*, Jammu 1970; 1973; 1984 (3 vols.), vol. 3, 1060 (Section Tantra, no. 201).

mentioned in the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*⁵ the so-called *Ḍākinīkalpa*⁶ is one of only two non-Buddhist texts,⁷ i.e., one of the very few Hindu sources which might be expected to deal mainly with these minor divinities. On reading the manuscript,⁸ however, this expectation is only partly fulfilled, because the title is misleading: of five texts about medicine contained in the manuscript, four complete and one incomplete, only one, the second, deals with *ḍākinīs*. Nevertheless, the four pages of this second text consist as a whole of material hitherto unknown.

In Hinduism as well as in Buddhism, *ḍākinīs* are known as very malevolent and dangerous demonesses causing damage of all sorts, including disease. However, in both religions sources about *ḍākinīs* in the role of demonesses connected with disease or fever are very seldom found: neither in Buddhism,⁹ where the mythical “conversion” of the *ḍākinīs* into Buddhist initiation goddesses and protectors soon raised their status within the religious cosmos, nor in Hinduism, where they remained small godlings. Thus, in the context of our

⁵ Cf. K. Kunjunni RAJA (ed.), *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. 8: *Ṭa – Da*. Madras 1974, 6.

⁶ I am indebted to Dr. Gustav Roth (Universität Göttingen) for pointing out the *Ḍākinīkalpa* to me in 1982 when I was doing research on *ḍākinīs* in Hinduism and Buddhism; cf. Adelheid HERRMANN-PFANDT, *Untersuchungen zur Religionsgeschichte und Mythologie der Ḍākinīs im indotibetischen Raum* (unpublished M. A. thesis), Bonn 1983. A part of the conclusions concerning the Hindu *ḍākinīs* has been published as ‘The Good Woman’s Shadow. Some Aspects of the Dark Nature of Ḍākinīs and Śākinīs in Hinduism’, in: Axel MICHAELS, Cornelia VOGELSANGER, Annette WILKE (eds.), *Wild Goddesses in India and Nepal. Proceedings of an International Symposium in Berne and Zurich, November 1994* (Studia Religiosa Helvetica Jahrbuch 2), Bern 1996, 39-70. Concerning *ḍākinīs* in Buddhism, see my book *Ḍākinīs. Zur Stellung und Symbolik des Weiblichen im tantrischen Buddhismus* (Indica et Tibetica 20), Bonn 1992. A short résumé of some of the results of this study in English is included in my article ‘Ḍākinīs in Indo-Tibetan Tantric Buddhism. Some Results of Recent Research’, *Studies in Central & East Asian Religions (Journal of The Seminar for Buddhist Studies, Copenhagen)* 5/6, 1992-3, 45-63.

⁷ The other work is the *Ḍākinītantra*, an incomplete text in five chapters, the only known manuscript of which is extant in the library of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad in Calcutta.

⁸ My warm thanks are due to Dr. Sharma, Director of the Raghunath Temple Library, who during my very short visit to the library in 1983 at once provided me with a xerox copy of the manuscript, and then went with me through the text to make sure that all parts of the copy were readable.

⁹ In Tantric Buddhism *ḍākinīs* sometimes help in healing diseases, cf. HERRMANN-PFANDT, *Ḍākinīs. Zur Stellung ...*, 431f.

present knowledge about *dākinīs* in Hinduism and especially in Hindu medicine, our manuscript is quite a rare source.

Since all five texts included in the manuscript not only deal with medicine as such, but especially with medicine supported by astrological knowledge, and since the manuscript as a whole is not very long, it does not seem to make sense to confine a publication to the text on *Dākinīs*. Therefore, the whole manuscript will appear in annotated editions and translations¹⁰ in this Journal, beginning in the present issue with an introduction and the first text.

The manuscript. The Jammu manuscript called *Dākinīkalpa* consists of fourteen folios in the size 24.4 × 12.2 cm with two pages each. Each page has eleven lines. There is no title for the whole manuscript. The text begins on fol. 1a with an invocation of Gaṇeśa and ends abruptly on fol. 14a11. It is written in Devanāgarī with ink on paper, the sentences being separated from each other by small gaps. The manuscript does not seem to be very old.¹¹ It is not complete because it ends with a unexplained chapter or paragraph number ||1|| in the middle of the last line of fol. 14a.¹² As this is not the end of that folio,

¹⁰ During the summer term of 1993 Prof. Dr. Kameshwar Nath Mishra (Institute for Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath) went through the whole of the text with me, commented on my transliteration and translation, and discussed with me at length the many corrupt readings as well as problems of the practical realisation of the cult instructions contained in the manuscript. I am very grateful to Prof. Mishra for his help and for the inspiring hours of working together. My thanks are also due to Dr. Johannes Schneider (Institut für indische Philologie und Kunstgeschichte, Freie Universität Berlin) who read very carefully an earlier draft of all parts of this article and made several useful remarks to improve it. However, the publication of this article would not have been possible without the help of Prof. Dr. Rahul Peter Das (Institut für Indologie, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg), which was indispensable especially regarding the identification and description of the New Indo-Aryan elements in Text I; indeed, the majority of the remarks on New Indo-Aryan in this article are based on his observations, though I have, in accordance with his wish, refrained from marking them as such in each individual case. Prof. Das also proposed some additional emendations of the text and improved my English. For additional information I am indebted to Prof. Dr. Srinivasa Ayya Srinivasan (Institut für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens und Tibets, Universität Hamburg), to Dr. Dr. Jayandra Soni and Dr. Roland Steiner (both Fachgebiet Indologie, Philipps-Universität Marburg), to Dr. Chlodwig H. Werba (Institut für Indologie, Universität Wien), and to Peter Wyzlic, M.A. (Indologisches Seminar, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn). For all mistakes the responsibility is mine.

¹¹ This is also noticed in the *Descriptive Catalogue* by PATKAR. STEIN, however, has the remark 'prācīna'.

¹² This number being visible at once when one looks at the last page, it is remarkable that both catalogues qualify the text as 'complete'.

our manuscript cannot be the original complete compilation, but must have been copied from an already incomplete exemplar of the compilation, so that the copyist had to stop on the middle of the folio at the point where the extant part of his original ended.

Contents. As already remarked, the manuscript contains four complete texts and a fragment which is the first paragraph of a fifth text. The first three texts deal with different sicknesses, mostly fever, their diagnosis and therapy. Each kind of fever is to be recognised by the astrological date on which its outbreak is thought to take place, and therefore they are arranged according to their dates of commencement. In Text I, seven sicknesses related to the seven weekdays are described, Text II deals with fifteen diseases in relation to the fifteen *tithis* or days of each half of the moon month (each *tithi* being dominated by one *dākinī*), and Text III with twenty-seven sicknesses related to the twenty-seven *nakṣatras* or moon mansions. Text IV contains some very brief information, covering a few lines only, on a method of calculating the lifetime. The extant first paragraph of Text V deals with the effects of planetary constellations on human health, especially concerning, again, the origin of fever. We do not know whether the following lost part contained instructions about therapy.

In Texts I-III, which form the major part of our manuscript, one paragraph of about one third of a folio on average is given to each date or sickness respectively, and each such paragraph contains as a minimum a description of the symptoms (sometimes including the cause and mostly the duration of the sickness) and of the therapy, which is without exception magico-religious: blood sacrifices, food oblations at special places, *mantras* to be recited to the demons or deities which are imagined as being the source of the sickness, purificatory baths and so on.

Although Texts I-III and perhaps also Text V display approximately the same principle of classification and presentation of the material, the formal and substantial differences between them are remarkable and make it certain that all of them were separate texts which were arranged together only recently by someone who was collecting information about sicknesses in relation to different sorts of astronomical dates.

Most striking are the linguistic differences: Text I is written in a kind of hybrid mixture of faulty Sanskrit prose and a New Indo-Aryan language which most probably comes from North-west India. Text II shows nearly always correct *ślokas* of a once perhaps relatively flawless Sanskrit, with a mantra concluding each paragraph of 2-4 *ślokas*. Text III is composed in an abbreviated, notebook-style Sanskrit prose with several corrupt passages. Text IV contains

a mixture of prose and verses in Sanskrit. The fragment of Text V is confined to three more or less correct *śloka*s. Scribal errors and other mistakes are many in all parts of our codex.

The titles of the codex and of its different texts. The titles of the separate texts put together in the codex now called *Dākinīkalpa* are the following:

- I title in heading: *Vārasaptadoṣa*
title in colophon: *Jvaropacāra* (ms.: *Jvaro upacāra*)
- II title in heading: *Tithijvaropacāra* (ms.: *Tithijvaro upacāra*)
title in colophon: *Tithidākinīkalpa*
- III title in heading: ____
title in colophon: ____
- IV title in heading: ____
title in colophon: ____
- V title in heading: *Kālacakra*
title in colophon: ____ (text incomplete)

The codex is included in the catalogues of the Jammu Temple Library manuscript collection under the title *Dākinīkalpa*. The origin of this title is not clear. Since it is incomplete, the manuscript does not include a colophon, and there is also no heading or title page.¹³ Moreover, except for Text II, the contents of the codex do not suit this title, which lets us expect instructions about worshipping *dākinīs* (i.e. minor, malevolent goddesses/demonesses known as belonging to the retinue of Śiva-Bhairava) or *Dākinī* (one of the names of the Great Goddess). But *dākinīs* are not mentioned at all in the first, fourth and fifth texts and only three times (III,10;11;14) in the third text. The second text, on the contrary, mentions a *dākinī* in nearly every paragraph and is called *Tithidākinīkalpa* in its colophon. So it seems probable that the title *Dākinīkalpa* has been taken from the second text and given wrongly to the whole codex either by its compiler or while preparing an inventory of the library.

Another problem lies in the non-uniform titles of the different texts. Texts I and II have two different titles each, Texts III and IV have no titles at all. The reason for the double titles of the first two texts may lie in the process of compilation of the codex. The compiler seems to have put the different texts together in one codex because of their common feature of establishing a

¹³ At least, a title page was not shown to me during my visit to the library and is also not included in the copy of the manuscript given to me.

connection between a special astronomical date and a sickness. The difference between the texts, on the other hand, lies in the kind of astronomical dates chosen: the days of the week (*vāra*) in Text I, the *tithis* in Text II, the *nakṣatras* in Text III, and in Text V, as far as we can see, different astronomical constellations. So for the compiler it must have been reasonable to choose headings related to this difference: *Vārasaptadoṣa* for Text I, *Tithijvaropacāra* for Text II. But at the same time he did not delete the original titles *Jvaropacāra* and *Tithiḍākinīkalpa* in the colophons. As regards the heading *Tithijvaropacāra* of Text II, it is especially probable that this title was invented in the process of compiling, for when the compiler had written the title *Jvaropacāra* in the colophon at the end of the first text, he possibly realised that this title did not establish any difference between his first and second texts, and so he himself established this difference by inserting the heading *Tithijvaropacāra* at the beginning of the following text. If these suppositions are correct, then the reason for the fact that the third and fourth texts have no title at all could be the carelessness of the scribe, which is a common feature also of the manuscript as a whole. It can also be that the third and fourth texts were added to the compilation at a later stage of its development by a compiler, who, unlike the compiler of Texts I, II and V, did not care about text titles.

Age and geographical region of origin of the texts. As the first text is greatly influenced by and interspersed with a New Indo-Aryan language seemingly of Northwest Indian origin (even containing in I,1 a word ultimately of Arabic origin, namely *tabakhī*, and maybe also Persian *tā*), at least this part of our compilation cannot be older than the historical state of the modern language it represents. On the other hand, a possible inflected passive form in I,2 could, but unfortunately need not, speak for a relatively early date. Some traces of Hindi or another New Indo-Aryan language of North India are also found in the other texts, but maybe only because of the linguistic affiliation of the scribe of our codex. Specialists on the languages of North India may be able to find out more about that. It is very difficult to say anything about the age of Texts II-IV.

Text V arouses our special interest because of the similarity of its title with the *Kālacakratantra*. As one of the best-known Tantric systems of late Buddhism, the *Kālacakratantra* cycle was paid attention to also by Hindu authors, especially in Northwest India. The great Kashmirian philosopher Abhinavagupta (c. 1000 A.D.) made use of it in his *Tantrāloka*.¹⁴ Moreover,

¹⁴ Abhinavagupta, *Tantrāloka* 4 and 16. Cf. Jean NAUDOU, *Les bouddhistes kaśmīriens au moyen âge*, Paris 1968, 125; Navjivan RASTOGI, *Introduction to the Tantrāloka. A Study*

the Kālacakra cycle is especially famous for its astronomical teachings,¹⁵ which, of course, were also used astrologically. From this point of view, it is not so improbable that our Text V, which is definitely astrological, has some roots in the Buddhist Kālacakra cycle. This would mean that its roots go back to the time between the tenth and the twelfth century A.D. when the Kālacakra system flourished in India, before Indian Buddhism was nearly extinguished by the Muslim invaders at the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D.

The geographical region of origin of our texts is most probably North-west India, not only because of the language of Text I and the possible connections of Text V with the Buddhist Kālacakra system, which was well-known to Hindu circles in Kashmir, but also because of the fact that the only known manuscript of the codex is located in Jammu. The texts may originate directly from (a non-Dardic speaking area of?) Kashmir or from another region in the north-western part of India.

Edition and Translation of Text I

Contents. Text I of the so-called *Dākinīkalpa* deals with seven kinds of fever, each of which has its beginning on one of the seven weekdays. For each weekday/sickness the following information is given:

- (1) The symptoms and the duration of the fever.
- (2) The source of the infection. This is in all seven cases described as an involuntary meeting with other persons or ghosts causing damage.
- (3) The place of the infection: nearly always a sacred or numinous place.
- (4) The therapy in the form of offerings (mostly animal sacrifices) to different deities.

We can see from the table given on p. 61 that most information about the sicknesses and their therapies are magico-religious and correspond to THITE's results referred to above. The only truly medical information included in our text is that about the symptoms and the duration of the fever named in five of the seven cases.

Language. As already indicated, Text I is written in a mixture of faulty Sanskrit and a New Indo-Aryan language of North-west Indian origin. The author seems to have been someone knowing some Sanskrit but "thinking", so to

in Structure, Delhi etc. 1987, 249f.

¹⁵ See e. g. Wilfried PETRI, 'Die Astronomie im *Kālacakralaghutantra*', pp. 381-385 in: Helga Uebach and Jampa L. PANGLUNG (ed.), *Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the 4th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Schloß Hohenkammer – Munich 1985*, München 1988.

say, in his own language, which has not only been the source for several words but also the basis for the on the whole quite “un-Sanskritic” syntax.

Apart from many spelling mistakes (e.g. I,2 *dukham* for *duḥkham*; I,5 *ūtvā* for *hutvā*; I,6 *aṭhavī* for *aṭavī*), there are many words without case endings (e.g. I,1 *dr̥ṣṭa* for *dr̥ṣṭā*; I,2 *madhya* for *madhye*) or with wrong case endings (e.g. I,1 *pūjyaḥ* for *pūjyā*; I,3 *velāyai* for *velāyām*). Sandhi rules are often not observed (e.g. I,1 *kaṣṭaḥ daṃtaśūla adhasira°* for *kaṣṭo daṃtaśūlo 'dhaḥsiraḥ°*; I,2 *saṃcāra abhūt* for *saṃcāro 'bhūt*, *udaraśūlaḥ jvara°* for *udaraśūlo jvara°*; I,3 *°puruṣe ucchiṣṭa°* for *°puruṣa ucchiṣṭa°*; I,4 *ekaḥ mlecchā anyah* for *eko mleccho 'nyo*; etc.).

Other traces of New Indo-Aryan influence are to be found in omissions of the *virāma* (e.g. I,2 *paśubalira* for *paśubalir*; I,7 *tatrābhūta* for *tatrābhūt*) or the separation of conjunct consonants (e.g. I,4 *karapaṭam* and *karapaṭham* for *karpaṭam*; I,5 *udapadyate* for *utpadyate*), both presumably because of the silent *a* in the pronunciation of various New Indo-Aryan languages. Moreover, there are several words stemming from a language which shows points of contact with the Punjabi group of languages on the one hand, but also with the (Western) Hindi group on the other (e.g. I,1 *āve tā* ‘if it comes, then’, *jānanī* ‘to be known’, *ī* ‘this’, *isakā* ‘of this’, *bakkarā* ‘he-goat’; I,2 *hoya to* ‘if it arises, then’), as well as other language groups of North or West India (e.g. the imperative ending *u* in I,3). One word (I,1 *tabakhī*) might have a meaning relating it to Kashmiri. However, I shall not investigate the question of language further, since this is not my main field of research. I have tried to identify and translate all forms and words in a manner giving sense to the text, and for the rest, I hope that this publication might inspire linguists to add what is necessary.

Verbal constructions. Especially noteworthy are the predicates in the first paragraphs of each section. As these paragraphs deal with the reasons for the respective fevers, they are antecedent in relation to the rest of the text. If we leave out of consideration the introductory part of each paragraph which tells us, as far as true Sanskrit forms are concerned,¹⁶ in the simple present which weekday’s fever is going to be described (i.e. I,3 *utpadyate*, ms.: *udara-padyate*; I,4 *gr̥hyate*; I,5 *utpadyate*, ms.: *udapadyate*; I,6 *utpadyate*; I,7 *gr̥hyate*), then we can see that in the first paragraphs the following three kinds of predicates are used, all of which designate the antecedence of the incidents and situations described:

¹⁶ In I,1 and I,2 we have the New Indo-Aryan subjunctive forms *āve* and *hoya* respectively.

Day of outbreak, symptoms, duration	Place of infection	Source of Infection	Remedy
Sunday toothache, affliction of head, intestines, skin, hands, feet etc. 10 days	water in northern direction	yoginī	killing of a he-goat, Ku-mārī worship 57 times
Monday stomach-ache, fever, pain in hands, feet etc. _____	garden, forest (twilight)	bhūtas, piśācas etc.	animal sacrifice to the vetālas amongst 11 men
Tuesday pain in bones, belly great danger for 7 days—one month	meal in an assembly	impurity after meal	food sacrifice in temple (rice, oily beans, oil)
Wednesday pain in feet, toothache 10 days	cremation ground	two bhūtas: a mleccha and a Brahmin	preparation of a white or black garment
Thursday _____ _____	under high tree (twilight) or near water (after fire sacrifice)	Brahmin woman or seven Brahmins (male or female)	sacrifice of a black animal by nine people lasting 20 days
Friday _____ _____	way to temple in forest somewhere near a village	bhūtas	domestic animal sacrifice (at place of transmission of disease?)
Saturday stomach-ache 7 days—4 (or 2) months	on path within forest, in hole near cremation ground near water at the root of a (Bhav-ānī?) tree	bhūta	sacrifice of a black animal and offering of a bean dish

Synoptical table of contents of Text I

- 1) predicated past participles:
I,1 *dr̥ṣṭa* ... *jānanī* 'is (to be) known as [having been] seen';¹⁷ I,2 *gataḥ* 'went'; I,3 *bhuktavat* 'ate', *prāptaḥ* 'was incurred', *prapannaḥ* 'got into'; etc.,
- 2) past tense forms (mostly aorist third person) of *√bhū* and *√as*:
I,2 *saṃcārā abhūt* 'there was a concourse'; I,6 *devageham āsīt* (ms.: *āset*) 'a temple was (there)' *tatra bhūtā abhavat* '*bhūtas* were there'; I,7 *bhūtaḥ tatrābhūt* (ms.: *tatrābhūta*) 'there was a *bhūta* in that place',
- 3) both together, i. e. periphrastic constructions with *abhūt* as copula:
I,4 *dvau bhūtau sthitau abhūt* for 'two ghosts were present', *samāgataḥ abhūt* 'arrived'; I,5 *gataḥ abhūt* 'went'.

Concerning participles with or without copula in the function of the predicate, J.S. SPEIJER¹⁸ writes:

'Sometimes participles are expressive of the chief predicate. In this case, **auxiliaries** are often wanted to denote the person or the tense or the nature of the action. The combination of participle and auxiliary effects a kind of periphrastic conjugation, which sometimes has an emphatic character, and sometimes serves to express special shades of tenses or moods, not to be pointed out by mere flexion.'

This use of the periphrastic passive, mostly with forms of *√as* and *√bhū*, is known from Vedic times onwards.¹⁹ In an article on the predicated past participle especially in Vedic language,²⁰ Stephanie W. JAMISON reminds us of

'the grammatical orthodoxy concerning the past participle plus copula in Classical Sanskrit: that the copula does not ordinarily appear with the 3rd person, but that there must be a surface expression of person for non-3rd persons, either a pronoun ... or a present tense copula Past tense copulas do not ordinarily appear, since present *asmi*, *asi*, etc. plus past participle have the force of a past.'²¹

¹⁷ In this case the past participle is combined with a New Indo-Aryan verbal noun-cum-participle in the function of a Sanskrit *participium necessitatis*.

¹⁸ *Sanskrit Syntax*, Leiden 1886, §376.

¹⁹ Cf. e.g. Berthold DELBRÜCK, *Altindische Syntax*, Halle (Saale) 1888, 392f.

²⁰ 'The Tense of the Predicated Past Participle in Vedic and Beyond', *Indo-Iranian Journal* 33, 1990, 1-19. For this reference I am indebted to Dr. Werba.

²¹ Op. cit., p. 2. As JAMISON herself concedes (note 4 *ad loc.*), there are 'a few examples of aorist and perfect copulas with the past participle in later Sanskrit' quoted by SPEIJER, §376 II; one of the examples, however, is from the *Mahābhārata*. Some more examples have been

Regarding both these points, our examples of periphrastic constructions, e.g. I,5 *gataḥ abhūt*, deviate from ordinary Classical Sanskrit usage.²² Firstly, they are in the third person but nevertheless have the copula, and secondly, the copula is in the past tense. This usage reminds one of New Indo-Aryan languages;²³ it could, but need not be, a sign of New Indo-Aryan influence on our text. In any case, the contexts in which these combinations of past tense and past participle occur in our text show that what we have here are clearly no pluperfect tenses, in the same manner as what are morphologically pluperfect tenses in New Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi or Bengali are often rather the equivalents of English or German imperfects than pluperfects.²⁴

Considerations on Structure. Looking at the distribution of the different kinds of predicates used in the first paragraphs of each weekday section, we can observe that each paragraph (except I,1 and I,3) has both: firstly one or more predicated past passive participles and secondly at least one *abhūt* (or *āsīt*, *abhavat* respectively). The *abhūt* (etc.) nearly always forms the last predicate (except I,5); the sentences without any finite verb have predicated participles instead which in three of four cases (I,1 and twice in I,5) are formed from or at least with participation of (I,1) *√dṛś* 'to see'. These observations encourage us to investigate further the specific use of the different kinds of predicates used in our text, especially in the first paragraphs of each section.

Regarding the information the text gives us about the origins of the diseases, this is given by the respective first paragraphs of the weekday sections. The structures used are of three sorts, with the second division in its turn being subdivided into two aspects:

collected by Dr. Werba, who was so kind as to share them with me: *Buddhacarita* 4,16c: *tāḍito 'bhūt (padā)* 'was kicked (by her foot)'; *Daśakumāracarita* 7,6: *viññāpito 'bhūt* 'was informed'; *ibid.* 18,9: *nikṣipto 'bhūt* 'was thrown down'.

²² These rules are especially true concerning *√gam* in Classical Sanskrit. Dr. Steiner kindly informs me that such periphrastic constructions are quite common in Classical Sanskrit drama, see e.g. Harṣadeva's *Nāgānanda* (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 59), ed. T[aruvai] GAṆAPATI SĀSTRĪ, Trivandrum 1917: *āgato 'si* (*Nāgānanda* 3,8+ {i.e. prose part after 3,8}: p. 166, line 4); *gato 'si* (5,7+: p. 244, line 6; 5,22+: p. 275, lines 12-13); *gato 'smi* (5,32+: p. 292, line 1), *gado si* (Prakrit, 5,31+: p. 289, line 6), etc. There are no periphrastic constructions in the third person which always shows only the simple participle. Cf. e. g. *gataḥ* in the sense of 'he is gone' (*Nāgānanda* 1,17+: p. 76, line 5).

²³ Cf., for instance, Hindi *gayā thā*.

²⁴ Cf. Colin P. MASICA, *The Indo-Aryan Languages*, Cambridge 1991, 293: 'The Past Perfective is often equivalent to an English Simple Past in Hindi and other NIA languages (as well as to the Past Perfect as shown).'

- 1) Place: First of all, the sick person is said to have gone to a certain place or to have done something there.²⁵ The locative (I,2 *sāyaṃprātaḥ velādvayamadhyā vātikā* ⟨gh⟩*atavīmadhye*; I,3 *kuṭrāpi sa* ⟨m⟩*bhāyām*; etc.) or accusative of direction (I,6 *at* ⟨h⟩*avīmadhyam*) is usually combined with a past passive participle of an intransitive or transitive verb (I,2, I,5 and I,6 *gataḥ*; I,4 *samāgataḥ*; I,5 *hutvā ... kṛtaṃ*, ms.: *ūtvā ...*), or, exceptionally, with a past active participle of a transitive verb (I,3 *bhuktavat*). In two cases the copula *abhūt* is added to the participle (I,4 *samāgataḥ abhūt*; I,5 *gataḥ abhūt*). This category of information is included in the first paragraph of each weekday description; however, in I,1 and I,7 the participle is missing (not, however, the locative).
- 2a) Presence: The presence of someone or something, mostly one or more *bhūtas*, but in I,6 additionally a temple, at the place mentioned in 1) is noted. This information is always expressed with *abhūt* or *abhavat* or *āsīt* (ms.: *āset*) respectively; in one case, the *abhūt* is construed with a participle to form a periphrastic construction (I,4 *sthitau abhūt*).
- 2b) Incident: Alternatively to 2a), an incident is described in which the sick person has been directly involved: he sees someone (I,1 a *yoginī*, I,5 one Brahmin woman, seven Brahmin women) or is touched (I,3 by the disease or by another man²⁶). This information again is expressed with past passive participles; in I,1 a New Indo-Aryan verbal noun-cum-participle *jānanī* is added.
- 3) Consequence: Only once, in I,3, is a consequence of these events described (I,3 *bhayam prapanna* [h]), – again with a past passive participle. All other weekday descriptions do not have this category, at least not at the end of the first paragraph. But one could say that the disease breaking out on the very weekday mentioned is the consequence. This disease is in each weekday section mentioned in the first part of the first paragraph and described in the second paragraph.

The table on p. 65 gives the four categories of information with their respective predicates. It shows the relatively regular structure of our text with only some minor irregularities. One can be seen in the missing participle in the

²⁵ The difference between the action in this case and what is described in 2b) is that what is done there is something that does not originate from the person concerned, but is, so to say, forced upon him by external circumstances.

²⁶ The fact that in all other weekday sections ghosts or persons are the source of the disease could be taken to speak in favour of the interpretation of *puruṣe* in I,3 as denoting a person different from the sick man.

	1) Place	2a) Presence	2b) Incident	3) Consequence
1. Sun	uttaradiśā jalanikāṭa (no participle)	—	yoginī dr̥ṣṭa ... jānanī	—
2. Mon	°madhye gataḥ	saṃcāra abhūt	—	—
3. Tue	ātura ... saṃbhāyām bhuktavat	—	sa puruṣe ucchiṣṭavelāyām prāptaḥ	bhayaṃ prapanna
4. Wed	śmaśānamadhye saṃāgataḥ abhūt	dvau bhūtau sṭhītau abhūt , ekaḥ ... anyah ...	—	—
5. Thu	saṃdhyāsamaye ... gataḥ abhūt pāṇīyasamīpam ... ūtvā ... kṛtaṃ	—	tatra tena dr̥ṣṭiḥ viprā etasya dr̥ṣṭiḥ 7 viprā	—
6. Fri	aṭhavīmadyam ... gataḥ ātura	tatrekaṃ ... āset, tatra ... abhavat	—	—
7. Sat	aṭavīmadye (no participle)	bhūtaḥ tatrā bhūta	—	—

Categories of information in Text I

first category of I,7. Has it vanished in the course of textual transmission?²⁷

Another irregularity can be seen in the periphrastic predicates in I,4 *sam-āgataḥ abhūt* and I,5 *gataḥ abhūt* as against the bare participle used as predicate in the beginnings of the other sentences (I,2 *gataḥ*, I,3 *bhuktavat*, etc.), especially if we take into consideration the fact that all other *abhūts* occur in the category 2a). Are therefore the first *abhūt* in I,4 and the *abhūt* in I,5 to be shifted to category 2a) and to be seen not as the last word of the first but as the first word of the second sentence of their respective paragraphs?²⁸ This interpretation of the text indeed removes the above-mentioned structural irregularities of the text, collecting, so to say, all bare participles in category 1) and all *abhūt*, *abhavat* and *āsīt* forms and constructions in category 2a). However, this change is not possible without creating new irregularities at the same time,²⁹ and therefore I have decided against this proposition here.

Our table shows two alternative sorts of situations as producing the disease: on the one hand the mere presence of malevolent ghosts (*bhūtas*) at a place where the sick person has been staying, and on the other the more or less conscious contact with another person or persons by seeing him, her or them

²⁷ Dr. Werba sees in the seemingly superfluous locative *atarde* (here interpreted as *ātarde* 'in a hole') the possible result of a spoilt participle in accordance with *gata āturaḥ* (ms.: *gataḥ ātura*) in I,6. The regular structure of nearly all the other sentences could speak in favour of this. For actually carrying out a conjecture, however, I do not see a possibility in this sentence which by itself gives sense without any major change.

²⁸ This alternative was pointed out to me by Dr. Werba. For the differences in translation it requires, see the respective notes on I,4 and I,5.

²⁹ Three arguments against this are the following: 1. Of all predicates then included in category 2a) and even of all predicates of the whole Text I, exclusively these three *abhūts* of I,4 and I,5 would be in the beginning and not, as normal in our text, in the middle or end of the sentences. Would it not look curious if all the three predicates with irregular initial position were preceded by a past passive participle? – 2. Another irregularity as a consequence of interpreting our three *abhūts* as the first words of their respective sentences would be that in I,5, the resulting sentence would be: *abhūt tatra tena dr̥ṣṭiḥ* (read *dr̥ṣṭā*) *viprā*, literally: 'A Brahmin woman seen by him was there' (unless we maintain that what we have here is a relative construction with the correlative missing: 'It was there [that/where] a Brahmin woman was seen by him'). This attributive use of the participle would be singular in the text, and would, moreover, not tally with *etasya dr̥ṣṭiḥ* (read *dr̥ṣṭā*) *7 viprā[h]* (literally: 'Seven Brahmin women were seen by this one'), where the participle is predicative. – 3. Another irregularity would be that the sentence 'A Brahmin woman seen by him was there' would be the only one in the text belonging to both the categories 2a) and 2b) (cf. pp. 64f.) at the same time.

by physical contact.³⁰ These two possibilities as well as the initial event of going to the place are expressed in our text with different forms of predicates. Punctual events (categories 1, 2b, 3) are expressed by predicative participles, durative events by finite forms of $\sqrt{bhū}$ or \sqrt{as} , while periphrastic forms (category 2a) have been used in either case.

The edition of the text. The edition and translation of Text I of the *Dākinīkalpa* has been made according to the following rules: Since the text does not conform to the grammatical rules of classical Sanskrit, the edited text is given unchanged according to the manuscript. All major emendations necessary to render those portions of the text which seem to be in corrupted Sanskrit into correct Sanskrit are listed in the critical apparatus in smaller letters below the main text; the readings of the manuscript are in italics, and suggested correct equivalents follow these.

Minor additions and deletions which could be included in the main text without changing it have been added using the following brackets:

- [] additions against the manuscript (also, in the English translation, additions necessary for understanding the contents of the text),
- ⟨ ⟩ deletions against the manuscript.

All other additions and deletions are to be found in smaller print under the main text.

I should like to emphasise here that all changes of the text through brackets, as well as the critical apparatus, are meant as help for understanding the text according to the reading which for me seems to be the most appropriate, and not as actual emendations. It is impossible to determine how many of the seeming mistakes have been meant to be just as they are by the author.

In order to facilitate the overview over the structure and the selection of themes dealt with in each paragraph (cf. also the two tables above), each new subject has received a new line in the edited text as well as in the translation.

Gaps in the text of the manuscript itself indicate the end of a sentence. They have as a rule been replaced in the edition by a period sign or, at times, by a comma. Missing, misplaced or problematical gaps are marked in the edition and in some cases additionally discussed in the footnotes.

Probable cases of elision of *a* in the pronunciation of New Indo-Aryan words have been neglected; *a* has therefore been retained throughout.

³⁰ See also note 25. Concerning I,3, there are also translations possible which rather exclude the involvement of a second person.

I. Vārasaptadoṣa/Jvaropacāra³¹

Text I: Harm of the Seven Weekdays/Treatment of Fever

ⁱ<1a> OM śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ.ⁱⁱatha vārasaptadoṣa likhyate.ⁱⁱ°doṣa likhyate: °doṣo likhyate/°doṣā likhyante/°doṣam [pustakam] likhyate.ⁱOM! Homage to Lord Gaṇeśa.ⁱⁱNow the *Harm of the Seven Weekdays* is being written.

I,1. Ādityavāra/Itavāra – Sunday

ⁱātāre tāpa āve tā yoginī dr̥ṣṭa uttaradiśā jalanikaṭa jānanī.ⁱⁱdaśadinatā ī kaṣṭaḥ daṁtaśūla adhasiratabakhīdukhe lūtādikaṣṭa hasta-pādādikaṣṭaḥ.ⁱⁱⁱisakā upāya bakvarā māraṇā. kumārī 57 pūjyaḥ. [1]ⁱdr̥ṣṭa: dr̥ṣṭā, uttaradiśā: uttaradiśi (or uttaradiśāyām), °nikaṭa: °nikaṭam or °nikaṭe.ⁱⁱkaṣṭaḥ: kaṣṭo, daṁtaśūla adhasiratabakhīdukhe: daṁtaśūlo 'dhaḥśirastabakhī-duḥkhe, °kaṣṭa: °kaṣṭo. ⁱⁱⁱbakvarā: bakkarā, pūjyaḥ: pūjyā.ⁱIf the fever comes on Sunday,³² then a yoginī is (to be) known³³ as [having been] seen [by the sick person] in the northern direction near water.ⁱⁱFor³⁴ ten days this affliction³⁵ [lasts]: toothache, suffering due to a drooping head³⁶ and intestinal sickness³⁷, affliction through cutaneous disease³⁸ etc.,³¹ Colophon title of this text, see above, introduction.³² ātāre is obviously related to Hindi itavāra (= Skt. ādityavāra), but used with the Sanskrit locative suffix, in accordance with most of the other names of days in this text.³³ jānanī: Note the adjectival use of the so-called verbal noun or infinitive. This usage is also known in Hindi (though today rare except with √par̥); cf. Kāmatāprasāda Guru, *Him̐dī vyākaraṇa* (Śāstravijñāna Granthamālā 1), 8th reprint, Kāśī V.S. 2022, 271 (§372).³⁴ tā here probably is a New Indo-Aryan equivalent of tāvat (see I,4 and I,5), or else derives ultimately from Persian (though note its postpositional use then), whereas in āve tā we have an equivalent of Hindi to.³⁵ Since several diseases follow, it bears consideration whether we should not translate: 'these afflictions'. This would mean that the New Indo-Aryan plural kaṣṭa (with mute a at the end, and similar in form to the singular) was "Sanskritised" incorrectly into a singular.³⁶ This probably means that the person is unable to keep his head upright.³⁷ Arabo-Persian ṭabaq in New Indo-Aryan usually means 'dish, bowl' or the like, but also 'surface; heap' and so on. George Abraham GRIERSON, *A Dictionary of the Kāshmirī Language, compiled partly from materials left by the late Paṇḍita Īśvara Kaula* (Bibliotheca Indica N.S. 1405), Calcutta 1915-1932 (four parts), 962b, also lists 'a certain severe disease

affliction of hands, feet, etc.

ⁱⁱⁱThe remedy for this is to kill³⁹ a he-goat⁴⁰.⁴¹ Kumārī⁴² is to be worshipped 57 [times]⁴³.

I,2. Somavāra – Monday

ⁱsomavāre jvara hoyā to sāyaṃprātaḥ(.) velādvayamadhya vāṭikā(gh)atāvīmadhye gataḥ. tatrānekabhūtapīśācādināṃ saṃcāra abhūt.

ⁱⁱudaraśūlaḥ jvarahastapādādidu[h]khaṃ.

ⁱⁱⁱekādaśapuruseṣu vetālaprītyartham paśubalir(a) deve. [2]

i jvara: jvaro, °madhya: °madhye, °pīśācādināṃ: °pīśācādināṃ, saṃcāra abhūt: saṃcāro 'bhūt. ii udaraśūlaḥ: udaraśūlo.

involving intestinal tumour'. Though here this specialised meaning cannot be assumed, especially since the affliction lasts only for some days, *ṭabaqī* (the derivative suffix *ī* could be Persian as well as Indo-Aryan) too could refer to something similar, maybe some more general affliction of the intestines, as has been assumed here. But Persian dictionaries also give the meaning 'vulva' for *ṭabaq* (cf. e.g. F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary. Including the Arabic Words and Phrases to be met with in Persian Literature. Being Johnson and Richardson's Persian, Arabic, and English Dictionary Revised, Enlarged, and Entirely Reconstructed*, reprinted Beirut 1975, 809a); so one may debate whether here an affliction of the vulva or (as words denoting the vulva and the anus may interchange in many languages) the anus might be meant. Anyway, the fact that *ṭabaq(ī)* as a loan-word in New Indo-Aryan does not as a rule seem to refer to a disease, but is or was found in such a meaning in Kashmiri (and so maybe also in neighbouring languages), does seem to point to a north-western origin of this text too.

³⁸ The primary meaning 'spider' of *lūtā* might also be considered. As to the disease *lūtā*, Monier MONIER-WILLIAMS, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1899, 905c writes: 'a kind of cutaneous disease (said to be produced by the moisture from a spider)', with only the *Rājatarāṅginī* as a source, which could be taken as further proof of our text's north-western origin. But Prof. Das informs me that the disease *lūtā* is known to medical texts too.

³⁹ On *ṇ* cf. the retroflexed forms from western and northern New Indo-Aryan languages e.g. in R.L. TURNER, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, Oxford etc. 1966, no. 10066 (also in the *Addenda and Corrigenda*, edited by J.C. Wright, London 1985).

⁴⁰ *bakkarā* is an obvious emendation for *bakvarā*, as the ligatures *kv* and *kk* are often confused or even identical in Devanāgarī manuscripts. Note that the doubling of the consonant *k* in *bakk°* is more reminiscent of Punjabi or Lahnda than Hindi.

⁴¹ This sentence is purely New Indo-Aryan with no Sanskrit elements (except for the *tatsama* word *upāya*).

⁴² Kumārī is a name of the goddess Durgā. It cannot be excluded, however, that here the worship of a young maiden is meant: 'a *kumārī*'.

⁴³ This translation of the number 57 is only a guess.

ⁱIf the fever arises on Monday, then [he] went in the evening or the morning between the two times of day (i.e. in the evening or morning twilight) into the garden or the forest. There was a concourse of many *bhūtas*, *piśācas* etc. there [at that time].

ⁱⁱ[This affliction consists of] stomach-ache, fever, suffering in hands, feet etc.

ⁱⁱⁱAn animal sacrifice is offered⁴⁴ amongst⁴⁵ eleven men to please the *vetālas*.

I,3. Bhaumavāra - Tuesday

ⁱ*bhaumavāra jvara udarapadyate, ātura[h] kutrāpi sa[m]bhāyām bhuktavat[.] sa puruṣe ucchiṣṭavelāyām prāptaḥ. tatraiva bhayaṃ prapanna[h]*⁴⁶.

ⁱⁱ*asthiśūlaṃ udaraśūlaṃ mahābhayaṃ dināni sapta[h], athavā māsam 1.*

ⁱⁱⁱ*tadarthaṃ taṇḍulam annaṃ tailamāṣa[m] annaṃ taila[m] upāu. 7 e<1b>katra pāviyitvā[.] kutrāpi devasthānaṃ saṃvibhajya deyaṃ. 3*

i *bhaumavāra*: bhaumavāre, *udarapadyate*: utpadyate,⁴⁷ *bhuktavat*: bhuktavān. *puruṣe*: puruṣa. ii *asthiśūlaṃ*: asthiśūlam, *sapta[h]* *athavā*: saptāthavā. iii *taṇḍulam*: taṇḍulam, *pāviyitvā*: pācayitvā,⁴⁸ *devasthānaṃ*: devasthāne.

ⁱ[If] the fever comes up on Tuesday, [then] the sick man ate somewhere at an assembly. It (the fever) was incurred in the man at the time of (i.e. when he was in the state of) impurity after eating [and before washing].⁴⁹ Just then he

⁴⁴ Though *deve* looks like an active optative form, the preceding nominative and the Sanskrit *deyaṃ* in exactly the same place in the next section (I,3) make it seem more probable that what we have here is actually an old inflected passive; similar forms are indeed found in older New Indo-Aryan, though in the majority of the modern languages the inflected passive, at least in a garb similar to the above, has died out except for some rudimentary remnants. This could be useful for dating our text. However, according to Prof. Mishra passive forms such as the above still exist in Hindi dialects. Should this indeed be the case, then the mere existence of this form could by itself not be used as a criterion for dating the text.

⁴⁵ The translation strives to be as ambiguous as the original. But cf. *manuṣyanavakena* in I,5; this could speak for translating with 'through' or 'by' here.

⁴⁶ Also possible: *prapanna[m]*.

⁴⁷ See e.g. I,6,i.

⁴⁸ The interpretation *pāvayitvā* 'having cleaned, purified', which requires less emendation, does not make sense here.

⁴⁹ For this translation I am indebted to Prof. Srinivasan. Though this seems to be the most elegant solution, one might also consider translating: 'He (i.e. the patient) was reached (i.e. attained [by the disease] or touched [by another man]) when the man (the patient or the other person) was at the time of impurity after eating.' In that case syntactically the construction would have to be regarded as an equivalent of **puruṣa ucchiṣṭe (sati)*, or as a parallel to **puruṣa ucchiṣṭamātre*. On the locative absolute construction (*puruṣa ucchiṣṭa-*

got into danger.⁵⁰

ⁱⁱ[There are] pain in the bones, pain in the belly, [and] great danger⁵¹ for seven days or else for one month.

ⁱⁱⁱFor this one must prepare⁵² rice food, oily bean⁵³ food, and oil. Having cooked [all this] together 7 [times],⁵⁴ it is to be offered somewhere at a temple after having divided [it].⁵⁵

I,4. Budhavāra – Wednesday

ⁱ*budhavāre jvaraṇāya gr̥hyate[,] śmaśānamadhye samāgataḥ<.> abhūt, yatra dvau bhūtau sthitau<.> abhūt, ekaḥ<.> mlecchā anyah<.> vipra[h.]*

ⁱⁱ*pādaśūlaṃ<.> daṃtaśūlaṃ daśa dināni tāvat.*

velāyām) cf. also J.S. SPEIJER (see note 18), §367: 'It is not necessary, that the predicate of the absolute locative be a participle. It may be also a noun (adjective or substantive).' One could also consider emending the text to read *sa puruṣeṇocchiṣṭavelāyām* (i.e. *puruṣeṇa ucchiṣṭavelāyām*) *prāptaḥ*, which would then mean: 'He was reached (i.e. touched) by a man at the time of impurity after eating', it in this case also being unclear who is in the state of impurity. Or else one could take *puruṣe* to stand for the instrumental (which would do away with the need for emending the text), in this connection pointing to *ekādaśapuruṣeṣu* in I,2; the translation would be the same as in the preceding case. See also note 26.

⁵⁰ Or, if we read *prapanna[m]* (= *prapanna[m]*): 'Just then danger was attained.'

⁵¹ Alternative translation: 'great fear'. The translation 'great danger' follows *bhayaṃ* in the preceding sentence.

⁵² Or else simply: 'Prepare'. The use of the imperative ending *u* is well-known from late Middle Indo-Aryan and the transition stage to New Indo-Aryan; cf. e.g. Ganesh Vasudev TAGARE, *Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa*, reprinted Delhi/Varanasi/Patna/Madras 1987, 297ff., Subhadra Kumar SEN, *Proto-New Indo-Aryan*, Calcutta 1973, 90. In New Indo-Aryan, too, it is relatively wide-spread both in time and area; see on this e.g. S.H. KELLOGG, *A Grammar of the Hindi Language ...*, first Indian edition, New Delhi 1972, 299, 315, 346, John BEAMES, *A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India ...*, second Indian reprint, New Delhi 1970, III, 108. It thus cannot be used as a criterion for dating our text. – Concerning the New Indo-Aryan *√upā* 'to produce, create' (= Skt. causative *utpādayati*), cf. Monika THIEL-HORSTMANN, *Crossing the Ocean of Existence: Braj Bhāṣā Religious Poetry from Rajasthan. A Reader*, Wiesbaden 1983, 156, s.v. *upā-* (from Dādū Dayāl's *sākhīs*). This last reference was pointed out to me by Dr. Steiner.

⁵³ *tailamāṣa* is probably the same as *māṣataila* 'an oily preparation from beans'.

⁵⁴ This translation of the numeral seems to give the most sense here.

⁵⁵ One could also consider translating: 'Having cooked [all this] together, it is to be offered somewhere at a temple after having divided [it] 7 [times] (i.e. into seven parts).' Though this seems to make better sense than the translation further above, the position of the numeral tends to speak for the former translation.

iii *śvetakar(a)paṭam vā kṛṣṇakarapaṭham(.) dharmakāryam[.] etatkṛte śata-śubham bhavatī. 4*

i *jvaraṇāya*: *jvaranayo* or *jvaranāyo*, *samāgataḥ abhūt*: *samāgato 'bhūt*, *sthitau abhūt*: *sthitāv abhūtām*, *ekaḥ mlecchā anyāḥ vipra*: *eko mleccho 'nyo viprah*. iii *kṛṣṇakarapaṭham*: *kṛṣṇakarpaṭam*, *bhavatī*: *bhavati*.

ⁱThe course of fever on Wednesday is [now] taken up.⁵⁶ [He] arrived in the midst of a cremation ground where two ghosts were present, one [of them] a *mleccha*,⁵⁷ the other one a Brahmin.⁵⁸

ⁱⁱ[There are] pain in the feet and toothache for⁵⁹ ten days.

ⁱⁱⁱ[To prepare] a white garment⁶⁰ or⁶¹ a black garment is a religious duty. When this is done, it becomes hundred[-fold] auspicious.

I,5. Guruvāra – Thursday

ⁱ*gurvāsare jvara udapadyate, samdhyāsamaye unnatavṛkṣatalam gataḥ(.) abhūt[.] tatra tena drṣṭiḥ(.) viprā[.] athavā pānīyasamīpam agnim ūtvā snānam kṛtam. etasya drṣṭiḥ 7 viprā[h].*

ⁱⁱ*tatraiva madhyā[h]ne velāyai manuṣyanavakena kṛṣṇapaśu(h.)bali[h]⁶² kāryaḥ dinaviṃśakam tāvat. tato api samdehaḥ. (7)[5]*

⁵⁶ One could also consider keeping the reading *jvaraṇāya* and translating: '[If he] is seized for feverishness (i.e. so as to be feverish), [then] ...'. *jvaraṇa* would obviously be a nomen actionis, similar to *jvalana*; on the dative cf. J.S. SPEIJER (see note 18), §91: 'In short, in Sanskrit datives of nomina actionis (*bhāvacanāni*) do often duty of infinitives.' What speaks against this is not only that we would have to assume here a word otherwise not found, in a rather uncommon construction to boot, but also *jvaranayaḥ* in I,7 and, generally, the fact that each weekday section of Text I is introduced by an announcement of this kind; cf. also the remarks on antecedence on p. 60.

⁵⁷ Probably someone not within the fold of the same religious system ('Hinduism'). Or could an outcast be meant?

⁵⁸ One could also consider dividing the last three sentences thus: *smaśānamadhye samāgataḥ. abhūt yatra dvau bhūtau sthitau. abhūt ekaḥ mlecchā anyāḥ vipra*: 'He arrived in the midst of a cremation ground. It was [there] where two *bhūtas* were present. It was [the case that] one [of them was] a *mleccha*, the other one a Brahmin.' See, however, p. 66.

⁵⁹ *tāvat* here is clearly used like similar New Indo-Aryan postpositions.

⁶⁰ See the New Indo-Aryan derivatives of *karpata* listed by R.L. TURNER (see note 39), no. 2871 (also in the *Addenda and Corrigenda*).

⁶¹ The position of *vā* 'or' is similar to that in New Indo-Aryan.

⁶² The position of the *visarga* seems to have been shifted from *baliḥ* to *paśuḥ* as the result of a scribal error.

i *udapadyate*: utpadyate, *gataḥ abhūt*: gato 'bhūt, *dr̥ṣṭiḥ viprā*: dr̥ṣṭā viprā/viprāḥ, *agnim ūtvā*: agniṃ hutvā, *dr̥ṣṭiḥ 7 viprā*: dr̥ṣṭāḥ 7 viprāḥ. ii *velāyai*: velāyām, *kṛṣṇa°*: kṛṣṇa°, *kāryaḥ*: kāryo, *tato api*: tato 'pi.

ⁱ[If] the fever comes up on Thursday, [then he] went at the time of twilight under a high tree. There a Brahmin woman⁶³ was seen⁶⁴ by him.⁶⁵ Or else, after having sacrificed into a fire near the water, a bath was taken. 7 Brahmin women⁶⁶ were seen by this one.⁶⁷

ⁱⁱIn this very regard at noon time a group of nine people should perform a sacrifice of a black animal for⁶⁸ twenty days. Even after that there is doubt [whether there will be success].

I,6. Śukravāra – Friday

ⁱ*śukravāre jvara utpadyate, aṭhavīmadyaṃ grāmādaḥ kutrāpi gata (ḥ.) ātura[ḥ]⁶⁹[.] tatreakaṃ devageham āset (.) mārge[.] tatra bhūtā abhavat.*

ⁱⁱ*tatraivākasmāt (.) śāla (ṃ) paśubali[ḥ] kā<2a>ryaḥ. 6*

i *aṭhavī°*: aṭavī°, *tatreakaṃ*: tatraikaṃ, *āset*: āsīt, *bhūtā abhavat*: bhūtā abhavan. ii.

°kasmāt śāla°: °kasmāc chāla°.

ⁱ[If] the fever comes up on Friday, [then] the sick person went to a forest

⁶³ It is unclear whether one may assume a sandhi in the manuscript between *viprā* and *athavā* or not. In the former case we would have several Brahmins (or Brahmin women, if *dr̥ṣṭiḥ* is feminine; see below), in the latter one Brahmin woman. I have chosen to give the translation 'a Brahmin woman' on the assumption that *dr̥ṣṭi* is indeed feminine, and that in the case of a plural number of women a number would have been specified as in the following case. However, the translations 'Brahmins' and 'Brahmin women' instead of 'a Brahmin woman' remain possible.

⁶⁴ *dr̥ṣṭi* could have been erroneously taken to be the feminine of *dr̥ṣṭa*.

⁶⁵ One could also consider dividing the last two sentences thus: ... *saṃdhyāsamaye un-natavṛkṣatalaṃ gataḥ. abhūt tatra tena dr̥ṣṭiḥ viprā*: '[then he] went at the time of twilight under a high tree. It was there [where] a Brahmin woman was seen by him.' See, however, p. 66.

⁶⁶ Here again I presuppose that *dr̥ṣṭi* is indeed feminine; otherwise, one could also translate: '7 Brahmins'.

⁶⁷ *etasya* is used here as a subjective genitive; see SPEIJER (cf. note 18), §114.

⁶⁸ Cf. *tāvat* in I,4.

⁶⁹ Another case of "shifting *visarga*"; compare *kṛṣṇapaśuḥ bali* in I,5 above.

somewhere near⁷⁰ a village etc. A temple was there on the way.⁷¹ *Bhūtas* were there.

ⁱⁱExactly there a sacrifice of a domestic animal⁷² is to be offered at once.⁷³

I,7. Śanivāra – Saturday

ⁱ*śanivāre jvaranayaḥ gr̥hyate[.] aṭavīmādhye mārge smaśānasamīpe, atarde bhūtaḥ[.] tatrābhūt[.] pānīyasamīpe bhavānīvr̥kṣamūle[.]*

ⁱⁱ*udaraśūlaṃ dina 7 māsadyai 2.*

ⁱⁱⁱ*kṛsnapaśubalir deyaḥ, mā[.]śānnaṃ deyaṃ[.] śubhaṃ bhavati. [7]*

ⁱ *jvaranayaḥ*: *jvaranayo*, *smaśānasamīpe atarde*: *śmaśānasamīpa ātarde*, *bhūtaḥ*: *bhūtas*. ⁱⁱ *dina*: *dināni*, *māsadyai*: *māsadvayaṃ*. ⁱⁱⁱ *kṛsna*^o: *kṛṣṇa*^o, *bhavati*: *bhavati*.

ⁱThe course of the fever [beginning] on Saturday is [now] taken up. On a path in the midst of a forest, in a hole⁷⁴ near a cremation ground, there was a *bhūta* in that place, near the water at the root of a *Bhavānī*⁷⁵ tree.

ⁱⁱStomach-ache [arises] for 7 days [or] for two [times] two months.⁷⁶

ⁱⁱⁱA sacrifice of a black animal is to be offered. Food of beans⁷⁷ is to be offered.

⁷⁰ An attempt to translate the locative, which seems to refer to the environs of the village.

⁷¹ One could also consider reading *āset* as *āśret* and translating: ‘There he entered a temple on the way.’ But this requires more emending.

⁷² This could refer to the sacrifice of a dog, or maybe a cat (cf. *śālāmṛga* and *śālāvṛka*), in any case to an animal living in or coming into the house, i.e. not domesticated in the same manner as cattle, goats, or the like.

⁷³ This meaning of *akasmāt* has to be assumed here. It is not found in Sanskrit dictionaries, and also not in most Hindi dictionaries. However, the meaning *tatkṣaṇa* ‘at once’ for *akasmāt* is given in: ŚYĀMASUNDARADĀSA (chief ed.), *Him̐dī śabdāsāgara. Prathama bhāga*, 2nd printing of the revised and corrected new edition, Vārāṇasī 1986, 65b. Could we therefore have New Indo-Aryan influence here?

⁷⁴ Concerning *atarde* (read here as *ātarde*), see also note 27.

⁷⁵ I have not been able to find such a tree name mentioned anywhere. Could we actually have a mistake for *bhava(n)tī* = *bhava(n)ti* here? Then we would have to translate: ‘... there was a *bhūta* (maybe in the sense of: there were *bhūtas*?) in that place. It/They tend to be near water at the root of a tree.’

⁷⁶ Should *°dyai 2* be just the result of an erroneous duplication, however, then the translation would be: ‘for two months’.

⁷⁷ One could also consider emending to *māṃsānnaṃ* ‘food (scil. a dish) of meat’, which would then probably refer to cooked meat. However, the *ṣ* makes it more likely that *māśānnaṃ* is correct.

Good fortune arises.

ⁱiti jvaro upacāra.

i jvaro upacāra: jvaropacārah.

ⁱThus the *Treatment of Fever*.

The Mahāsauvarcalādi Gṛta in Hoernle's Unpublished Edition of the 'Jivakapustaka'¹

RONALD ERIC EMMERICK

The India Office Library manuscript Ch ii.003 is a typical *Sammelhandschrift*, containing a number of texts. Their number is not quite clear. It is probable that it contains parts at least of four texts rather than three as I suggested earlier (Emmerick 1992, p. 60) since the word *siddham* precedes four sections: it occurs at 44r1, 47v4, 88v1, and 105r2. Whereas Text 1 contains Sanskrit and Khotanese alternating phrase by phrase, in Text 2-4 the Khotanese rendering follows the complete Sanskrit text of each prescription. The texts also differ with respect to their contents. Whereas Text 1 (44r1-47v3) contains an *agada*, Text 2 (47v4-88v1) contains prescriptions for *ghṛtas* ([5]-[46] according to the numbering of Konow 1941), Text 3 (88v1-105r2) contains prescriptions for *tailas* ([47]-[73]), and Text 4 (105r2-116v5, but incomplete) prescriptions for *cūrṇas* ([74]-[93]).

The manuscript is unusual in being bilingual, the Sanskrit texts being accompanied by a Khotanese translation. The Sanskrit texts are badly transmitted, being so corrupt that S. Konow, who edited and translated the Khotanese version, did little more with the Sanskrit than consult it occasionally for help with his translation. H.W. Bailey subsequently provided a transcription of the whole of the Sanskrit but without any attempt at interpretation. However, as early as 1917 A.F.R. Hoernle, the decipherer of Khotanese, who also had a particular interest in Indian medicine, published in an Indian festschrift an article in which he not only translated the Khotanese but also provided a restoration of the Sanskrit text of a small portion of the manuscript (Hoernle 1917). Hoernle's article was for many years overlooked by scholars working in this field.

Hoernle continued to work on the 'Jivakapustaka' and it was his intention to publish a study of folios 44-72r under the title of 'An ancient medical manuscript from Turkestan' as the second volume of *MR*. His edition included a lengthy introduction on the manuscript, its script, and language and contained besides his edition and translation of the Khotanese text his reconstruction of the Sanskrit text. The manuscript of this book was marked by him as 'Press-Copy' and is to be found in the India Office Library among the papers he has left under the signature MSS Eur D 723.

¹ This article is the slightly changed text of a paper presented on 12.1.1994 at the IXth World Sanskrit Conference in Melbourne.

It will not of course be possible to evaluate adequately Hoernle's contribution to the study of the '*Jīvakaṣṭaka*' until the whole of his book has been studied in detail. I propose to consider on this occasion Hoernle's treatment of a single prescription, that called in Sanskrit text 2 the Mahāsauvarcalādi Ghee. The Sanskrit text is found at 51r4-51v5 and the Khotanese at 51v5-52v3. This is prescription [6] according to Konow's numbering and is referred to as 'Formula III. MAHĀSAUVARCALA Powder' by Hoernle, who at first wrote GHEE and then crossed it out and replaced it by POWDER adding the following footnote:

'The text of this formula, both Skt. and Khot., is in a particularly corrupt condition, as may be seen from the footnotes.² This is all the more to be regretted as the formula appears to have a distinctly non-Indian character. For the *kaṭuka-pañcamūla* which appears among its ingredients is unknown to the medical textbooks of India. Suśruta enumerates five *pañca-mūla*, or groups of five roots (Sūtra, adhy. 38, l. 60-66, p. 131, cf. Char., Cik., viii, vv. 96-7, p. 526). The last among these is the *kaṇṭaka-pañcamūla*. It suggests itself that *kaṭuka* of our formula might be a clerical error for *kaṇṭaka*, but its constituents as detailed in the Khot. comment, differ from those of Suśruta's *kaṇṭaka-pañcamūla*; and one of them, *draṃmabāva* (i.e. *dāḍima-mūla*); or root-bark of pomegranate, is not only not included in Suśruta's group, but the medical use of it is not recognized at all in any ancient Skr. medical textbook (see Mat. Med., p. 166, Ph. Ind., II, p. 45). Of course, there is the alternative possibility that the corruption *kaṭuka* for *kaṇṭaka* already existed at the time when the Khot. comment was made; but even in that case there is the difficulty of the inclusion of the root-bark of pomegranate in a group of *kaṭuka*, or pungent drugs. For the predominant character of that bark is not pungency, but astringency: in the Rājanighaṇṭu it is described as *kaṣāya* and *grāhi*, astringent, but only *laghūṣṇa*, slightly hot, or pungent. Another point to notice is the curious fact that at the end of the Khot. text our formula is said to be a *cāmṇa* (Skr. *cūrṇa*), or medicated powder, while in the middle (fol. 52 a^v) it is described as a *rūm* (*ghr̥ta*) or medicated ghee, in agreement with the Skr. text which, in both places (fol. 51bⁱⁱ and 51b^v) calls it a *ghr̥ta*. In this connection it is to be noted that in the whole of our formula, ghee is not mentioned at all among its ingredients. This circum-

² Hoernle is referring to his own footnotes to his edition and translation of the text.

stance obviously tends to negative the idea of its being a formula for a medicated ghee, and to suggest its really being a formula for a medicated powder. It may also be noticed that in Char., Cik., ch. v, p. 489, there occur two formulae, in some respects similar to ours, one of which (vv. 65-6) describes a medicated ghee, the other (vv. 75-80), a medicated powder. Both these formulae contain *dāḍima* among their ingredients without specifying whether its seed (*bīja*) or its root-bark (*mūla*) is intended; nor do existing commentaries define that point. The Bower MS., II, v. 66, p. 29, has a very short *sauvarcalādyā cūrṇa*, all the six ingredients of which, though not *dāḍima* among them, occur also in our formula.'

Let us look at some of the points made by Hoernle. First of all, let us turn to the question of whether we are dealing with a ghee or a powder. It should be borne in mind that this prescription occurs in Text 2, which is exclusively concerned with ghees. It is accordingly very unlikely that we have here a powder displaced from Text 4. Moreover, both the Sanskrit text and the Khotanese describe our item as a ghee. It is only the very last word of the Khotanese version that describes it as a powder and even there it corresponds to *ghṛta-rāja* in the Sanskrit text. Khotanese *cāṇa* may be merely an error. Certainly it would not be unusual for the Khotanese translator to make a blunder. But it is also possible that he was aware of the fact that the ingredients could be used as a powder as well as or instead of as a ghee. Precisely in connection with preparations for the treatment of tumours due to wind Caraka, Ci. 5.76 writes:

ghṛtānām auṣadha-gaṇā ya ete parikīrtitāḥ |
te cūrṇa-yogā vartyas tāḥ kaṣāyās te ca gulminām ||

'Those groups of drugs that are listed for ghees may also be used as powders, suppositories or decoctions in the treatment of tumour patients.'

The fact that ghee itself is not specifically mentioned as an ingredient does not seem to me to be of any great significance. It is common to say one should make a ghee with the ingredients so and so and I do not see any real problem in the fact that here the ingredients are listed and the result is described as a ghee. However, the Khotanese translator probably did list ghee specifically. Hoernle renders the Khotanese *ṣvīda drrai śaiga gvīha* as 'of cow's milk, three śaiga (Skr. one and a half prastha)', but that would be quite extraordinary word order. It is almost certainly the case that we should read *gvīha* **rūṃ* 'cow oil', this being the usual way of rendering Skt. *sarpis* or *ghṛta* in the medical texts.

Hoernle regarded the apparent mention of a *kaṭuka-pañcamūla* as indicating that the text had a 'non-Indian character' as indeed no such group of five

roots is found in Indian medical literature. It occurred to him of course that the reading *kaṭūkā* of the manuscript might be a corruption of *kaṇṭaka* since the *kaṇṭaka-pañcamūla* is well known. However, the tradition concerning the constituents of the *kaṇṭaka-pañcamūla* is quite rigorous and has no item in common with those listed in JP [6]. We also have a Khotanese version of the *kaṇṭaka-pañcamūla* in Si 2.31, where the items are: (1) *haskye* (2) *śauve* (3) *dr̥rāṃgūlye* (4) *sahacara* (5) *makalā-śāhā*. This is quite different from the list in JP [6], which has: (1) *ha'cana bāva* (2) *kāṃḍarā gīsai hya bāva* (3) *dr̥rāma bāva* (4) *sauthaja gaysā hīyā bāva* (5) *khaṇauśa' gaysā hīyā bāvā*. This list is explicitly described in the Khotanese version as *ysāysīnai ... paṃcamūla* 'the group of five roots consisting of grasses', which makes it clear that the *tr̥ṇākhyā-pañcamūla* is involved. Whatever the explanation of the manuscript corruption may be, *kaṭūkā* must somehow have replaced *tr̥ṇākhyā* or its equivalent. Hoernle envisaged this possibility but rejected it because the third item *dr̥rāma bāva* appeared clearly to mean 'root(-bark) of the pomegranate', which is not used in Indian medicine. The other items were mysterious to Hoernle as his rendering shows: 'root of ha'cata, root of kāṇḍarigīsaihya, root of the pomegranate tree, root belonging to the sauthaja shrub, root belonging to the khaṇauśa' shrub'. Unfortunately, the Khotanese word *gīsai* 'grass' was not known to Hoernle as otherwise he would have recognised it in the second item *kāṃḍarā gīsai hya bāva* and would thus have had confirmation that we really do have here the *tr̥ṇākhyā-pañcamūla*.

Meantime, we are fortunate in having another Khotanese version of the *tr̥ṇākhyā-pañcamūla* at Si 2.32 (Ch ii.002 #14v4 KT 1.22; P 2892 #165-166 KT 5.324), where the items are as follows: (1) *gīsā bāte* (2-3) *hacanā bāva . dva* (4) *dr̥raubha* (5) *khaṇauśa' gaysā hīyā bāva*. It is immediately clear that item 1 in JP corresponds at least in part to items (2-3) in Si and that the fifth item in both lists is identical. There is thus no doubt that the JP *pañcamūla* is the *tr̥ṇākhyā-pañcamūla* even if some of the details remain obscure.

What light does this realisation shed on the mysterious root-bark of the pomegranate? The conclusion seems inescapable that JP's *dr̥rāma bāva* must correspond to Si *dr̥raubha*, i.e. that *dr̥rāma* is merely a mistake for **dr̥rābha* and represents Skt. *darbha*, a kind of grass (*Saccharum spontaneum* Linn). Skt. *darbha* is rendered by *drūba* in JP 56r5 [9], where *drūba hīyā bāva* 'root of *darbha* grass' translates Skt. *darbha-mūla*. The interchange of *ā ~ au ~ ū* in Late Khotanese is a normal feature, but the reason for mistaking *bha* for *ma* remains unclear. In view, however, of the strong degree of corruption in the transmission of the text, we need have little hesitation in adopting this correction.

Despite the remarkable increase in our knowledge of Khotanese since

Hoernle's time, neither of the other unclear items can be satisfactorily explained even now. The designation of the second JP item *kāṃḍarā* as the root of *gīsai* suggests that this item corresponds to Skt. *kuśa* since Si has *gīsā* to render *kuśa*, which in one form or another is a constituent of the *pañcamūla* in all traditions. Konow, however, explains *kāṃḍarā* with the comment: 'cf. Skt. *kāṇḍekṣu-* Saccharum spontaneum'. He presumably had in mind the wording of Suśruta, Sū. 38.75cd: *kuśa-kāśa-nala-darbha-kāṇḍekṣukā iti tṛṇa-samjñakah*. As is clear from Dalhaṇa's commentary, neither the reading *kāṇḍekṣukā* nor its interpretation is assured. Some, he says for example, read *kāṇḍa*, which they explain as *śara*. Certainly it looks as though JP *kāṃḍara* may represent *kāṇḍa* or even **kāṇḍa-śara*. The DhN 160 records *kāṇḍekṣu* as a synonym of *kāśa*, so that it looks as though JP's *kāṃḍarā gīsai hya bāva*, following directly upon *ha'cana bāva* (= *kāśa*), must refer to another variety of *kāśa* rather than to *kuśa* after all. The Khotanese formulation would indeed lead us to expect to find in the group two varieties of *kāśa*.

sauthaja, like *kāṃḍarā*, is a ᾠποξ λεγόμενον. Konow identified *sauthaja* as 'a particular seed, Skt. *śara* Saccharum sara', without adducing any evidence for his assumption. *śara* is listed in the formulation of our *pañcamūla* in Vāgbhata, *Ah.*, Sū. 6.171cd, but I know of no evidence to indicate that the item should be sought in the JP formulation. In *Dict.* s.v. *sauthaja* Bailey suggests it may be connected with the plant name *sauthara* that occurs twice in the Si (2.8 25.19) and renders Skt. *dhātakī* 'fulsee flower (tree)'. The forms resemble each other, but a semantic relationship has not yet been established.

What I think we can conclude from our examination is that we should not look for non-Indian formulations in the '*Jīvaka-pustaka*' but try to restore the corrupt manuscript readings in accordance with what we know of the Indian tradition.

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|---------------|--|
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| Ci. | Cikitsāsthāna. |
| DhN | <i>Dhanvantari-nighaṇṭu</i> , in: <i>Rāja-nighaṇṭu-sahito Dhanvantarīya-nighaṇṭuḥ</i> (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series 33), ed. Vaidya Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī Purandare and V.G. Āpte, 2nd ed., Poona 1925. |
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| JP | ' <i>Jīvaka-pustaka</i> '. |

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Kṣemendras *Garbhāvakraṇtyavadāna* (Sanskrittexte aus dem tibetischen Tanjur II)*

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Nach der monumentalen Erstausgabe des Sanskrittextes und der tibetischen Übersetzung von Kṣemendras *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* (BAK), die zwischen 1888 und 1918 in der *Bibliotheca Indica* unter der Herausgeberschaft von Sarat Chandra DAS, Satis Chandra VIDYABHUSHANA und anderen erschien¹, wurde diese umfangreiche Zusammenstellung buddhistischer Legenden zwar gelegentlich bei der Erörterung der verschiedenen Fassungen einer bestimmten buddhistischen Erzählung herangezogen, aber zu einer kritischen Überprüfung des Wortlauts der indischen Ausgabe kam es lange Zeit nicht. Diese begann erst 1979 mit Jan Willem DE JONGs Monographie *Text-critical Remarks on the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, in der er auf der Grundlage zweier Manuskripte aus der Universitätsbibliothek Cambridge, Add. 1306 und Add. 913, und unter Heranziehung der tibetischen Übersetzung in der Pekinger Druckausgabe des Tanjur zahlreiche Verbesserungen für die *pallavas* 42–108 liefern konnte. Die Handschriften decken leider nur diesen Teil ab, und überdies war der Derge-Tanjur, der auch den Sanskrittext in tibetischer Transliteration enthält, DE JONG damals nicht zugänglich. In jüngster Zeit steuerte DE JONG zwei weitere wichtige Beiträge zur Erstellung des korrekten Wortlauts bei: (1) Die umfangreichen ‘Notes on the Text of the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā, *pallavas* 7–9 and 11–41’, erschienen in *Hokke Bunka Kenkyū* 22, 1996, 1–92, und (2) die kürzeren ‘Notes on the Text of the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā, *pallava* 6: Badarīdvīpayātrāvadāna’, erschienen in der *Festschrift für Dieter Schlingloff*,² 137–148. Da die *pallavas* 1 bis 5 bereits in der Dissertation von Bonnie ROTHENBERG *Kṣemendra’s Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā: A Textcritical Edition and Translation of Chapter One to Five*

* Der erste Beitrag dieser kleinen Reihe, in deren Rahmen noch weitere Gelegenheitsfunde veröffentlicht werden sollen, ist der folgende: ‘Sanskrittexte aus dem tibetischen Tanjur (I). Das Nāgārjuna zugeschriebene Daṇḍakavṛttastotra’, *Berliner Indologische Studien* 3, 1988, 51–102.

¹ Für alle bibliographischen Angaben verweise ich auf die Monographie von Marek MEJOR, *Kṣemendra’s Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā. Studies and Materials* (Studia Philologica Buddhica. Monograph Series 8), Tokyo 1992. Die ‘Bibliography’ (S. 99–108) nennt – unter anderen Titeln – die wichtigsten Arbeiten, die zu diesem Werk Kṣemendras erschienen sind, welches man mit gutem Recht als seine vierte *Mañjarī* bezeichnen kann, nach der *Bhārata*-, *Rāmāyaṇa*- und der *Brhatkathāmañjarī*.

² Hrsg. von Friedrich WILHELM, Reinbek 1996.

(Madison 1990)³ behandelt worden sind, bleibt nur eine Legende übrig, der bisher keine (Neu-)Bearbeitung zuteil geworden ist, nämlich *pallava* 10, das *Garbhāvakraṅtyavadāna*. Den Grund für seine Nichtberücksichtigung dieses Kapitels nennt DE JONG in seiner Publikation in *Hokke Bunka Kenkyū* auf S. 1: ‘Marek Meior has announced an edition of the Sanskrit text of *pallava* 10 (Meior 1992, p.6, n.2).’

Mit dem *pallava* 10 hat es nun eine ganz besondere Bewandtnis. In der indischen Ausgabe ist dieses Kapitel ausgelassen, die tibetische Übersetzung wurde als Appendix am Ende des ersten Bandes abgedruckt, und die Numerierung der nachfolgenden Legenden wurde um eines erniedrigt. Dies mußte, wie MEJOR es richtig ausdrückte, bei dem unbefangenen Leser den Eindruck erwecken, daß der Sanskrittext dieses *pallava* in der Quelle, d.h. der tibetischen Transliteration des Sanskrittextes, nicht vorhanden war und vielleicht sogar überhaupt nicht zum Werk Kṣemendras gehörte.⁴ MEJOR wies nun als erster darauf hin, daß der Sanskrittext sich in dem Tanjurdruck von Derge sehr wohl zusammen mit der tibetischen Übersetzung genau an der Stelle befindet, an der er nach der Inhaltsangabe von Kṣemendras Sohn Somendra stehen soll: zwischen den *pallavas* 9 und 11. In der oben von DE JONG genannten Fußnote 2 auf S.6 gibt MEJOR auch ein Spezimen des Sanskrittextes, die Strophe 4, das ihm allerdings nicht ganz geglückt ist. Wie MEJOR mir nach dem Erscheinen meiner Besprechung seines Büchleins in der *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*⁵ mündlich mitteilte, hat er seine ursprüngliche Absicht einer Bearbeitung dieses *pallava* zugunsten eines größeren wissenschaftlichen Vorhabens aufgegeben. Damit ist dieser *pallava* nunmehr zur Bearbeitung “freigegeben”, und das bescheidene Ziel dieses Beitrages ist es, den bisher unbekannten Sanskritwortlaut des *Garbhāvakraṅtyavadāna* erstmalig herzustellen und so die von DE JONG bewußt offengelassene Lücke zu schließen.

Wie schon das von MEJOR neubearbeitete und übersetzte *Pratītyasamutpādāvadāna* (Nr.75), so ist auch das *Garbhāvakraṅtyavadāna* keine Legende,

³ Deren Druckfassung wird seit längerem in den Katalogen von Motilal Banarsidass angekündigt.

⁴ Diese Auffassung wird sehr ausführlich von DE JONG in seinem Artikel ‘The *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* and the *Ṣaḍdantāvadāna*’ (in: *Buddhist Thought and Asian Civilization. Essays in Honor of Herbert V. Guenther on His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. by Leslie S. KAWAMURA and Keith SCOTT, Berkeley 1977, 27-38) vertreten und begründet (op. cit., S. 28-31). Sein Ausgangspunkt ist aber die Nichtexistenz des Sanskrittextes im tibetischen Blockdruck.

⁵ 39, 1995, 249-252.

sondern ein kurzer Lehrtraktat des Buddha, der zunächst eine medizinische Thematik behandelt, die Bildung und das Heranwachsen des Embryo im Mutterschoß, dann aber in der zweiten Hälfte in eine allgemeine Mahnrede im poetischen Stil übergeht, wie wir sie aus zahlreichen selbständigen Texten⁶ und auch aus Abschnitten kennen, die in einen größeren Zusammenhang eingebettet sind.⁷ Kṣemendra bedient sich in dieser Legende eines sehr gewählten Stils, was schon die Wahl der Mandākrāntā als Hauptmetrum zeigt. Es wird für die Strophen 1-24 verwendet. Strophe 25 wechselt zu Śārdūlavikrīḍita, und lediglich die Schlußstrophe 26 ist im Anuṣṭubh-Metrum abgefaßt. In der Regel dient Kṣemendra die Anuṣṭubh als Hauptmetrum, und wenn er von diesem Prinzip abweicht (wie etwa in den Legenden 22, 38, 53, 59, 65 und 101), dann treten an seine Stelle die Triṣṭubh/Jagatī-Metren bzw. -derivate Upajāti, Vaṃśastha und Vasantatilakā. Die Qualität liegt deutlich über der der drei *Mañjarīs*, auf deren Mängel schon J.S. SPEIJER in seinen *Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara* (Amsterdam 1908) im Fall der *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* zu Recht hingewiesen hat.

Was die Thematik des *Garbhāvakrāntyavadāna* angeht, so findet sie sich natürlich an den einschlägigen Stellen der indischen medizinischen Werke, aber auch an anderen Stellen der indischen Literatur, manchmal gänzlich unerwarteten. ‘Das Tandulaveyāliya, Taṇḍulavaicārika, gehört zu den sogenannten Vermischten Texten – Painṇaya, Prakīrṇaka – des Śvetāmbara-Siddhānta. Unter seinem wunderlichen Titel “Das (Painṇaya) von den Reiskörnern” erwartet niemand eine Belehrung über des Menschen Dasein vor der Geburt und nach ihr ...’, schreibt Walther SCHUBRING zu Beginn seiner Analyse des *Tandulaveyāliya*.⁸ Die buddhistischen Texte, in denen *Garbhāvakrānti* erwähnt oder ausführlicher abgehandelt wird, hat DE JONG in seinem in Anm. 4 genannten Aufsatz zusammengestellt.⁹ Da Kṣemendra seine Quellen nur asso-

⁶ Vgl. hierzu etwa Siglinde DIETZ, *Die buddhistische Briefliteratur Indiens*, Wiesbaden 1985. Dieses Werk stellt acht bis dahin nicht bekannte buddhistische Briefe in Text und Übersetzung vor und liefert zu den drei bereits vorher veröffentlichten Briefen Inhaltsangaben und Strukturanalysen. Letzteres bietet es auf S. 93-101 auch für die beiden im tibetischen Tanjur vertretenen Gattungen *parikathā* und *nirdeśa*, die verwandte Züge mit der Briefliteratur aufweisen.

⁷ Hier denke ich etwa an die lehrhaften Partien in den buddhistischen Legendensammlungen im Campūstil von Āryaśūra, Haribhaṭṭa und Gopadatta.

⁸ Walther SCHUBRING, *Tandulaveyāliya. Ein Painṇaya des Jaina-Siddhānta. Textausgabe, Analyse und Erklärung* (Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 1969, Nr. 6), Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur: Mainz 1969, 21.

⁹ Op. cit., S. 29-31.

ziativ und eklektisch verwendet, wurde darauf verzichtet, unter den bekannten Parallelen nach einer spezifischen Quelle zu suchen.¹⁰ Dafür reicht das von Kṣemendra gebotene Material nicht aus. Was ich an charakteristischen Parallelen gefunden habe, wird in den Anmerkungen zur Übersetzung genannt.

Die Konstitution des Sanskrittextes bot zahlreiche Schwierigkeiten. Ich vermute, daß diese letztlich der Grund dafür waren, weshalb die indischen Erstherausgeber der *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* auf eine Erstellung des Sanskritwortlautes dieses *pallava* verzichteten. Auch wenn sich nicht alle problematischen Stellen befriedigend lösen ließen, so halte ich es doch für gerechtfertigt, diese – wie ich hoffe – weitgehend lesbare Fassung einer interessierten Öffentlichkeit vorzustellen, um so eine seit fast 100 Jahren bestehende Lücke zu schließen.

Ich hatte die Gelegenheit, den Entwurf meiner Ausgabe und Übersetzung mit meinem Kollegen Prof. Dr. Rahul Peter DAS durchzugehen, was in mehreren Fällen zu einem besseren Verständnis führte. Dafür bin ich ihm sehr dankbar.

Was die Präsentation des Materials angeht, auf dem die Konstitution des Sanskrittextes beruht, so schien es mir der einzig gangbare Weg zu sein, den Textbefund buchstabengetreu zu präsentieren und ihn von der Rekonstruktion zu trennen. Er findet sich **nach** der Darbietung und annotierten Übersetzung des rekonstruierten Sanskrittextes und ist so aufgebaut, daß – ähnlich wie im Blockdruck von Derge – die tibetische Transliteration des Sanskrittextes und seine tibetische Übersetzung (*en bloc*) untereinander stehen. Auf den tibetischen Text folgt meine Rekonstruktion des Sanskrittextes aus den darüberstehenden Primärmaterialien. Auf diese Weise kann der Leser eindeutig zwischen Befund und Bearbeitung unterscheiden. Ich bin meinem Schüler Albrecht HANISCH zu großem Dank verpflichtet, daß er gerade diesen wegen seiner vielen entstellenden Fehler besonders unangenehmen Befundteil noch einmal sehr sorgfältig überprüft hat.

¹⁰ So förderte eine kursorische Lektüre der beiden *Garbhāvakrānti*-Texte in der *Ratnakūṭa*-Abteilung des tibetischen Kanjur (*Ārya-Nanda-garbhāvakrānti-nirdeśa*, Derge-Kanjur, Abteilung *Ratnakūṭa*, Band *Ga*, fol. 205b1-236b7, und **Āryāyusman-Nanda-garbhāvakrānti-nirdeśa*, Derge-Kanjur, Abteilung *Ratnakūṭa*, Band *Ga*, fol. 237a1-248b1) nichts zutage, was Kṣemendra bei der Abfassung seines Textes beeinflußt haben könnte.

Garbhāvakraṇtyavadānam¹¹

*campopānte vimalanalīnītīraparyantavāsī
śāstā pūrvam sakalabhuvanānugrahāya pravṛttaḥ |
prṣṭaḥ¹² sparśāvagatirucinā bhikṣuṇānandanāmnā
garbhārāmbhāt prabhṛti janatājanmavṛttiṃ jagāda || 1 ||*

1. Einstmals weilte der Lehrer, der sich darangemacht hatte, der ganzen Welt seine Gunst zu erweisen, in der Nähe von Campā, am Uferrand eines klaren Lotusteiches. Da fragte ihn der Mönch namens Ānanda, den es danach verlangte, [das Wesen des] “Kontaktes”¹³ zu verstehen, nach dem Geburtenablauf der Menschen, angefangen vom Embryonalzustand. [Der Buddha] sprach [darauf zu ihm]:

*śuklaiḥ kṛṣṇaiḥ śabalarucibhir dehinām karmasūtraiś
citram loke bahutaradaśam¹⁴ dṛśyate janmavastram |
jīrṇasyāpi vyasanamalināsnehalīnaḥ prayatnair
yasyātyantam cirapariṇater naiva niryāti rāgaḥ || 2 ||*

2. ‘Man sieht wie in der Welt das Geburtsgewand der Menschen bunt schillert, weil es aus weißen, schwarzen und gefleckt glänzenden Karmafäden gewirkt und mit überaus zahlreichen Fransen (Lebenssituationen) versehen ist. Sogar dann, wenn es in ständigem Bemühen aufgetragen (verbraucht) worden ist und sich im Verlauf einer langen Zeit über alle Maßen verändert hat, verliert es seine Farbe (Leidenschaft) überhaupt nicht, da es mit Körperfett (Liebe) in Berührung gekommen und durch ständigen Gebrauch (Laster)

¹¹ Derge, Abteilung ‘Khri śin, Band Ke, Fol. 95a-99b2; Peking, Abteilung Mdo ‘grel, Band Ge, Fol. 53a5-55b3. – Im folgenden steht D für den Blockdruck von Derge, P für den von Peking und T für den übereinstimmenden Wortlaut dieser beiden Ausgaben.

¹² *kṛṣṭa* D, *dris nas* T.

¹³ Es sieht so aus, als sei mit *sparśa-* die ‘Berührung, Kontakt’ aus dem zwölfgliedrigen Kausalnexus gemeint. Vgl. hierzu etwa das *Pratītyasamutpādāvadāna* (BAK 75), das kürzlich von Marek MEJOR neu herausgegeben und übersetzt wurde (op. cit. in Anm. 1, S. 16-28. – Die tibetischen Übersetzer haben die Bedeutung, die *ruci* an dieser Stelle hat, nicht erkannt und es mechanisch mit ‘Glanz’ wiedergegeben.

¹⁴ Die fehlende Silbe *da* in *bahutaradaśam* wurde nach dem Tibetischen ergänzt: (*rab mañ*) *gnas skabs*.

verfleckt (befleckt) ist.¹⁵

*pumsaḥ śukraṃ vigalitadhṛter ārtavaṃ yoṣitaś ca
sparsāveśavyatikarajuṣoḥ saṃgame saṃnipātāt |
ekībhūtaṃ vrajati niyamāt kasya cid bījabhāvaṃ
yo 'ntas tasmin bhavati sahasā saṃnikāṣe yathāgniḥ*¹⁶ || 3 ||

3. 'Wenn bei der geschlechtlichen Vereinigung [von Mann und Frau], welche beide an Berührung, Eindringen und Vereinigung Gefallen finden, die Samenflüssigkeit eines Mannes, dessen [Stand]festigkeit zerronnen ist, und die Zeugungsflüssigkeit¹⁷ einer Frau aufeinander-treffen, dann entsteht aus ihrer Verbindung gewißlich der Keim eines Individuums, welcher plötzlich dabei entsteht wie ein Feuer beim Reiben [der Feuerhölzer].¹⁸

¹⁵ Die Strophe enthält einen weitgehend durchgeführten *śleṣa* (Doppelsinn), der auf dem Vergleich der menschlichen Geburtsform mit einem Gewand beruht. Den Kern bilden die Ausdrücke *janmavastra*- 'Geburtsgewand' und *karmasūtra*- 'Karmafäden', zu denen dann die doppeldeutigen Wörter *daśā*- 'Franse, Borte; Lebensform', *vyasana*- 'Rührigkeit, Beschäftigung, ständiger Gebrauch; Laster', *sneha*- 'Öl, ölige Flüssigkeit, Körperfett(?); Liebe', *parīṇati*- 'Veränderung; Reife' und *rāga*- 'Röte, Farbe; Leidenschaft' treten. Die 'schwarzen', 'weißen' und 'gemischten' Karmafäden spielen auf die bekannte Schlußformel vieler Lehrreden des Buddha an, die folgendermaßen lautet: *iti hi bhikṣava ekāntakṣṇāṇāṃ karmaṇāṃ ekāntakṣṇo vipāka ekāntaśuklāṇāṃ ekāntaśuklo vyatimiśrāṇāṃ vyatimiśraḥ* 'Ihr Mönche, die Reife der völlig schwarzen Taten ist nämlich völlig schwarz, die der völlig weißen [Taten] völlig weiß, die der gemischten gemischt' (so *Divyāvadāna*, ed. COWELL/NEILL, S. 586). Das auf *rāga* bezügliche Kompositum *vyasanamalinasnehalīna* ist nicht ganz durchsichtig. – In der tibetischen Übersetzung scheinen *atyantaṃ* und *°līnaḥ* keine Entsprechung zu haben – es sei denn, man sieht sie in *mod* und *chags*.

¹⁶ *yāgneḥ* D, *dper na bsrubs pa 'i me bzin no* 'wie das geriebene Feuer'. Das Tibetische legt die Emendation **agniḥ* nahe.

¹⁷ Zu *ārtava*- 'Monatsfluß' schreibt K.R. SHRIKANTHA MURTHY: 'The term "ārtava" is commonly applied to the discharge of blood from the woman's body once in every twenty-eight days known as menstruation. Ancients held the view that the menstrual blood is responsible for the production of the embryo, this view is erroneous. ...' (op. cit. in der nächsten Anmerkung, Vol. I, S. 357, *Notes*). Über *ārtava* handelt Reinhold F.G. MÜLLER, *Altindische Embryologie*, Leipzig 1955, 14-21. Eine tiefschürfende Studie über *ārtava*- als 'der zur fruchtbaren Periode gehörige (weibliche Zeugungsstoff)' und das damit zusammenhängende Wortfeld hat kürzlich Walter SLAJE in *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society* 4, 1995, 109-148, veröffentlicht: *Ṛtú-, Ṛtv(i)ya-, Ārtavá-*. Weibliche "Fertilität" im Denken der vedischen Inder'.

¹⁸ Strophe 2.1.1 aus Vāgbhaṭas *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* macht klar, daß die letzte Zeile der Strophe das Entstehen eines Keims im Mutterschoß mit dem plötzlichen Aufflammen ei-

*rāgodgāraḥ sphaṭikaśakalam megham ambhodhipāthaḥ
 puṣpāmodas tilam iva śanaiḥ kāñcanam vāgnitāpaḥ |
 so 'yaṁ garbham viśati niyatair apy asamlakṣyavṛttir
 vāyur gandhair iva bahuvidhaiḥ karmabhir vāsyamānaḥ || 4 ||*

4. 'Wie der Ausfluß einer Farbe in ein Stück Bergkristall, wie das Wasser des Ozeans in eine Wolke, wie der Duft einer Blume in ein Sesamkorn, wie die Hitze des Feuers allmählich in Gold, genauso tritt er dann in den Embryo ein, [und zwar] in einer Art und Weise, die selbst von den Sinnesorganen nicht bemerkt wird; wie der Wind von vielfältigen Düften, so ist er von seinen [vielfältigen] Taten durchduftet.

*tasmin sūkṣmakramaparīṇatir mīnaparyuṣṭake 'sau'¹⁹
 nānākārapracuraracanācitrarūpo 'py alakṣyaḥ |
 kaṁ cit kālam vahati vikṛtiṁ nirvikārāyamāno
 māyūrāṇḍe jalamaya ivāvyaktabhaktir mayūraḥ || 5 ||*

5. 'In diesem [Frucht]wasser (?)²⁰ reift der [Embryo] in feinen Schritten heran; er kann nicht wahrgenommen werden, obwohl seine Gestalt durch zahlreiches und vielfältiges Gestalten wunderbar

nes Feuers beim Reiben zweier Reibhölzer vergleicht. Die Konstruktion der tibetischen Fassung weicht stark von der des Sanskrit ab: 'Der Same und die Zeugungsflüssigkeit von Mann und Frau, deren Fassung völlig zugrunde gerichtet wurde, die "in die Berührung eingetreten sind" und sich der Verbindung hingegeben haben, sind bei der Vereinigung [zusammen]gefallen; sie sind eins geworden und haben aus irgendeiner Bestimmung heraus die Form eines Keims angenommen, welche plötzlich in jenem Innerem auftritt, wie zum Beispiel ein geriebenes Feuer.' – Mir liegt die als Band 27 der *Krishnadas Ayurveda Series* erschienene Ausgabe von K.R. SHRIKANTHA MURTHY – *Vāgbhata's Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdayam (Text, English translation, Notes, Appendix and Indices)*, Varanasi 1991-1992 (3 Bände) – vor; zu einer Bibliographie der bis 1965 erschienenen Ausgaben und Übersetzungen vgl. Claus VOGEL, *Vāgbhata's Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdayasamhitā. The first five chapters of its Tibetan Version*, Wiesbaden 1965, 275-277.

¹⁹ *paryuṣṭa ka so D.*

²⁰ *paryuṣṭa-* scheint eine wenig belegte Nebenform zu *paryuṣita-* 'übernachtet habend; über Nacht gelegen, -gestanden, gestrig; alt, abgestanden, verdorben' zu sein. Das Verbal-kompositum *pari√vas* bedeutet 'verweilen, leben mit (Instr.); verkehren mit (Acc.)'. Mit dem Vorderglied *mīna*^o vermag ich *paryuṣṭa-* aber nur im Sinne von '(allseits) bewohnt' zu verstehen. *mīnaparyuṣṭa(ka)-*, wörtlich: 'von Fischen bewohnt', wäre dann als Umschreibung von 'Wasser' zu verstehen, ein in diesem Kontext allerdings sehr befremdendes Metonymikon, das man Kṣemendra kaum zutraut. Unerklärlich ist mir die tibetische Wiedergabe *ran bzin gyis btsir* 'von Natur aus gepeinigt', die einen anderen Text vorauszusetzen scheint.

geworden ist; ohne sich [wirklich] zu verändern durchläuft er einige Zeit lang Veränderungen, wie der Pfau es in dem aus Wasser bestehenden Pfauenei tut,²¹ wenn seine körperlichen Anlagen noch ganz unausgebildet sind.

*tatrādhānād ghanakalalatāśalyapeśyādyavasthās
tyaktvā tās tā jaṭharajanitenosmaṇā pacyamānaḥ |
pūrṇair māsair navabhir athavāvartakarmakramo 'sau
kleśaṃ bhuṅkte kim api viṣamaṃ duḥkhasaṃjñāprapannaḥ || 6 ||*

6. 'Nachdem er dort hineingelegt worden ist, durchläuft er, gekocht von der im Mutterleib erzeugten Hitze, die [einzelnen] Embryonalzustände wie *ghana*, *kalala*, *śalya* und *peśī*,²² im Verlauf der vollen [Monate des Austragens] oder aber [wenigstens] von neun [Monaten] erleidet er entsprechend der strudelgleichen Abfolge seiner Taten schreckliche Qualen von aller Art, nachdem er mit dem Bewußtsein der Leid[empfindung] ausgestattet worden ist.

*kāle vṛntāt²³ svayam iva phalaṃ vicyutaṃ garbhapākāt²⁴
tatkālotthair avihatajavaiḥ preritaḥ pūtivātaiḥ |
lakṣyābhyāsāyatanaśacivair ācitaḥ karmabandhair
niryāty antaḥ śara iva dhanuryantraniryantramuktaḥ || 7 ||*

²¹ Für diese Vorstellung vermag ich keine Parallele anzuführen.

²² Die *Mahāvvyutpatti* (ed. ISHIHAMA/FUKUDA) führt die fünf Zustände im Mutterleib in der folgenden Reihenfolge auf: (4052) *lus su 'gyur ba'i rim pa'i miñ la* |; (4053) *kalalam* | *nur nur po* |; (4054) *arbudam* | *mer mer po* |; (4055) *peśī* | *nar nar po* |; (4056) *ghanaḥ* | *gor gor po* |; (4057) *praśākhā* | *rkañ lag 'gyus pa* |. Dies stimmt mit der Abfolge überein, die wir aus den Pāli-Texten (vgl. *Visuddhimagga* 236, *Mahāniddeśa* 120 und *Milindapañha* 40) und buddhistischen Sanskrittexten (vgl. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* 13⁵ und 231¹²) kennen. Kṣemendra bringt hier die ersten vier in der geänderten Reihenfolge 4-1-2-3, mit der Ersetzung von *arbuda-* durch *śalya-*. Beides ist wohl ausschließlich durch das Metrum bedingt, was auch die tibetischen Übersetzer richtig gesehen haben. *kalala-* bedeutet eigentlich 'Embryo unmittelbar nach der Zeugung', *arbuda-* 'längliche runde Masse; Fötus im zweiten Monat', *peśī-* 'Fleischklumpen; Fötus bald nach der Empfängnis', *ghana-* 'Masse, Klumpen; Fötus im zweiten Monat'. *śalya-* bedeutet 'Stachel, eingedrungener Körper; Fötus'. Die tibetischen Wiedergaben sind allesamt fein nuancierte Ausdrücke für 'lang, länglich' bzw. 'rund, rundlich': *nur nur po* < *nur pa* 'länglich', *mer mer po* < *mer ba* 'ausgedehnt, voll (sein)', *nar nar po* < *nar po* 'länglich; lang (und schlank)', *gor gor po* 'rund(lich)' (vgl. *sgor sgor*). – Im *Tan-dulaveyāliya* heißen die Stadien *kalala-*, *abbuya-*, *peśī-* und *ghaṇa-* (op. cit. in Anm. 8, S. 23).

²³ *kālya br̥ttāt* D, *dus su yu ba dag las* T (≈ *kāle vṛntāt*).

²⁴ *karmma pā kāt* D, *mñal smin pas* T (≈ **garbhapākāt*).

7. ‘Wie eine Frucht, die ganz von selbst vom Stengel herabgefallen ist, tritt [das Neugeborene dann] aufgrund der Reifung der Leibesfrucht²⁵ zur entsprechenden Zeit aus dem Inneren [des Mutterleibes] heraus, angetrieben von den zu dieser Zeit sich bildenden, mit ungebremster Geschwindigkeit [herausschießenden] übelriechenden [Leibes]winden,²⁶ ganz bedeckt mit den Fesseln der Taten,²⁷ dem Ort der Zielübungen verbunden (?)²⁸ – einem Pfeil gleich, der ungezügelt von einem Bogen abgeschossen wurde.

*uttānāsyah saralarasanaś cūcukāgram lihānaḥ
stanyam mātuḥ pibati yad asau naiva karṇena nākṣṇā |
janmābhyāsavyasanayatanāyāsasamvāsālīnā
sā tasyāgre sakalakalanādeśinī vāsanaiva || 8 ||*

8. ‘Daß es mit emporgerichtetem Gesicht und beweglicher Zunge an der Brustwarze nuckelt und die Milch der Mutter trinkt, das ge-

²⁵ Der überlieferte Sanskrittext *karmapākāt* ‘aufgrund der Reife seiner Taten’ ist zwar nicht unsinnig, aber wenig prägnant. Gegen *karma*^o spricht zudem die Tatsache, daß das Wort in der dritten Zeile verwendet wird, wodurch sich dann mit *karmapākāt* eine inhaltliche Wiederholung ergäbe. Dem Tibetischen *mñal smin pas* ‘aufgrund der Reife der Leibesfrucht’ liegt sicher **garbhapākāt* zugrunde. Sowohl wegen des Themas der Legende als auch wegen des engeren Kontextes scheint mir **garbha*^o wesentlich naheliegender zu sein, und daher konjiziere ich entsprechend.

²⁶ Die graphisch nächstliegende Verbesserung des unverständlichen *plativāteḥ* ist *pūti-vātaiḥ* ‘durch übelriechende [Leibes]winde’, das in der Tat im *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (5,5,30) belegt (so nach PW IV, 834a; dort allerdings ‘Furz’) und in diesem Zusammenhang auch sinnvoll ist. Das Tibetische (*ma yi rluṅ ni*) scheint jedoch **mātrvātaiḥ* ‘von der Mutter [ausgehende] Winde (?)’ gelesen zu haben.

²⁷ *bandha* ist sicher doppeldeutig und bezeichnet hier auch etwas, in das das Neugeborene eingehüllt ist.

²⁸ Der Ausdruck *lakṣyābhyāsāyatanasaciva*- ‘den sichtbaren Ort der Bemühungen als Gefährten habend’ ist mir nicht klar. Das Tibetische hat hierfür (fast) wörtlich *mtshon cha goms pa* ‘i gnas kyi grogs po ‘Freund des Waffenübungsplatzes’, wobei *mtshon cha* ‘Waffe’ an der Stelle von *lakṣya*^o steht. *cha* könnte ein Schreibfehler für das homophone *bya* sein; *mtshon bya* wäre dann eine ganz wörtliche Wiedergabe von *lakṣya*- ‘wahrnehmbar, sichtbar’. Wegen des nachfolgenden Bildes von einem abgeschossenen Pfeil ist bei *lakṣya*- aber wohl eher an ‘Ziel’ zu denken. Herr Kollege DAS macht mich darauf aufmerksam, das Kṣemendra hier vielleicht das noch an der Nabelschnur hängende Neugeborene mit dem beim Übungsschießen an einer Schnur befestigten Pfeil verglichen haben könnte. Das paßte sicher am besten in den Kontext der Strophe wie auch zur Diktion Kṣemendras. Dennoch bereitet mir die genaue Interpretation des Kompositums Schwierigkeiten.

schieht weder aufgrund seines Gehörs noch aufgrund seines Augenlichts, sondern es sind nur die auf Übung, Eifer, Mühen und Anstrengungen in früheren Geburten beruhenden Eindrücke, die ihn über das ganze Treiben um ihn herum unterrichten.²⁹

*syūtair antar vividhaviṣayasvādasampādabhedair
vyāptaḥ sūtair³⁰ bisalava iva vyaktatantupratānaiḥ |
mūḍhaḥ so 'tha prakṛtisacivair indriyair dattasaṃjñāḥ
stanyālāpākṛtiparimalasparśanair vetti dhātrīm || 9 ||*

9. 'Im Inneren ist es durchzogen von verbundenen ("zusammengenähten")³¹ Kanälen, welche das Wahrnehmen ("Kosten") der verschiedenen Sinnesobjekte bewirken,³² so wie das Stückchen einer Lotuswurzel von Schößlingen [durchdrungen ist], die gut [zusammen]gefügt³³ und deren Fäden sichtbar sind; die von der *prakṛti*-begleiteten³⁴ Sinnesorgane schenken jenem [noch] Unerfahrenen Bewußtsein, so daß es die Amme an der Milch, an dem Geplaudere, an der Gestalt, an ihrem Geruch und an ihren Berührungen erkennt.³⁵

²⁹ Zu dem Grundgedanken dieser Strophe vgl. das Nāgārjuna zugeschriebene *Prajñāśataka*, Strophe 55: | *gaṇ 'zig skye dgu 'tsho byed pa* | | *de ni las ŋid ston par byed* | | *byis pa mig rnams ma bye ba* | | *nu zo 'thuñ ba su yis bstan* | 55 | 'Was den Menschen leben läßt, zeigt alleine ihm die Tat. Wer hätte denn den Säugling je gelehrt, bevor er sehen konnte, Milch zu trinken?'

³⁰ **suptair* D, *legs sbyar* 'gut (zusammen)gewebt' T.

³¹ Das *syūtair* '(zusammen)genäht' des Sanskrittextes durch *grub pa* 'vollendet' übersetzt. Las *Ōñ-ston siddhair* (oder *siddho*) statt *syūtair*? Aus inhaltlichen Gründen kann das kaum der ursprüngliche Wortlaut gewesen sein.

³² Da *sampāda-* im Sinne von *sampādana-* ungewöhnlich ist, sollte man vielleicht eher *sampādi-* lesen, falls die auf T *bskyed pa 'i* 'hervorbringen(d)' beruhende Textherstellung überhaupt korrekt ist. Der Blockdruck liest ja *saṃ bā da*.

³³ Das *suptair* 'eingeschlafen' des Sanskrittextes, das so kaum richtig sein kann, scheint durch *legs sbyar* 'gut zusammengefügt' übersetzt worden zu sein. Anscheinend las *Ōñ-ston* nicht *suptair*, sondern **sūtair* 'gut gewebt, zusammengefügt'.

³⁴ Unklar. Oder 'ihn von Natur aus begleitenden'. So ist wohl auch T zu verstehen: 'die natürlichen Freunde, die Sinnesorgane'.

³⁵ Es ist sicher kein Zufall, daß die fünf aufgezählten Dinge Objekte der fünf Sinnesorgane sind, nämlich Geschmack, Gehör, Gesicht, Geruch und Gefühl. T ist für sich genommen zwar ebenfalls sinnvoll – '(er) erkennt die Amme dadurch, daß sie um der Brust willen [zu ihm] redet (d.h., ihn durch Worte zum Trinken zu animieren versucht) und durch

*hastākarṣaiḥ śayanavasanaṅgharṣaṇaiḥ pīḍyamāṇaḥ
sthāne sthāne taralitatanuḥ kīṭakair bhakṣyamāṇaḥ |
nityākrandī vacanavirahāt kāyikīm kleśaśailīm
kaṁ bobrūte viṣamavipadām āspadatvaṁ prayātaḥ || 10 ||*

10. 'Es wird gepeinigt vom Zerren an den Händen und von dem Reiben am Bett und an den Kleidern; Insekten nagen an ihm, wobei sein Leib an jeder einzelnen Stelle hin- und herzuckt; wem teilt es, ständig schreiend, weil es noch keine Worte hat, die Abfolge³⁶ seiner körperlichen Plagen wieder und wieder mit,³⁷ nachdem es zum Wohnsitz schrecklicher Beschwerden geworden ist?

*pīḍodvāntaiś churitavadanaḥ procchalatkṣīrapūrair
uttānorastalanipatitair ukṣito lakṣyate 'sau |
māyāvadhvāḥ smaraṇaharaṇapraudhakelīvilāse
hāseneva sphuritarucinā nirbharavyāptakāyaḥ || 11 ||*

11. 'Man sieht, wie sein Gesichtchen von Streifen hervorquellender Milch verschmiert ist, die unter Schmerzen ausgebrochen wurden und auf seine kleine nach oben gerichtete Brust niederströmen; sein Leib scheint dadurch über und über mit dem funkelnden Glanz eines Lachens bedeckt zu sein, wenn die Frau "Illusion" sich bei dem ausgedehnten Spiel des Raubens der Erinnerung vergnügt.³⁸

die Berührungen des Massierens' –, geht aber wohl auf einen verderbten oder verlesenen Sanskrittext zurück: *nu ma 'i don du* scheint für **stanyārthāya*, *brjod cin* für **āhṛti-* und *yois su mñe ba* für **parimāṛjana-* zu stehen.

³⁶ So in Anlehnung an T: *(b)rgyud ma* '(Geschlechter)abfolge, Familie'; skr. etwa *vaṁśa-*. Der unvollständige Sanskrittext *kle śai laṁ* könnte auch zu *kleśaśailam* ergänzt werden. Von der Ergänzung hängt es ab, ob man das vorangehende *kā ya kīm* als *kāyikaṁ* oder *kāyikīm* herstellt.

³⁷ Die Frequentativform *bobrūte* – sofern sie dem Text *kanbo brūte* zugrunde liegt – ist nicht korrekt gebildet, da die mediale Form das Infix *-ya-* vor der Endung verlangt.

³⁸ Was ist das 'Sich-Vergnügen beim ausgedehnten Spiel des Raubens der Erinnerung' (*smaraṇaharaṇapraudhakelīvilāsa-*)? Oder handelt es sich bei *smaraṇaharaṇa-* um ein Dvandva? – Die Konstruktion der tibetischen Übersetzung weicht mehrfach bemerkenswert von der Sanskritvorlage ab: 'Was das [Neugeborene] angeht, so ist sein Gesicht von Mengen von Milch bedeckt, die, unter Qualen ausgebrochen, kräftig hervorströmen, und es ist benetzt durch das, was durch das Niederfallen auf die Mitte seiner nach oben gerichteten Brust bemerkt wurde (!); es sieht so aus, als wäre sein Leib ganz und gar durchdrungen von dem überaus leuchtenden Glanz des Lachens, weil [es] sich an die Anmut des ausgedehnten Tändelns des Raubens bei der Frau "Illusion" erinnert hat.'

*so 'tha prāpte lipiparicaye helayā dattahaste
samsāre 'sminn avicalitayā bandhalekhyakriyāsu |
janmāvartam nijam iva likhan dīrgham omkāram ādau
varge varge vitarati matim bhogasarge nivīṣṭaḥ || 12 ||*

12. 'Wenn er nun mit der Schrift vertraut geworden ist, wobei ihm in diesem Daseinskreislauf die Hand gereicht wurde in einer spielerischen Weise, die unerschütterlich ist in bezug auf die Tätigkeit des Schreibens in gebundener Form,³⁹ dann schreibt er zu Anfang einen lang[gezogen]en Buchstaben *om*, gleichsam den Strudel der eigenen Geburten, und eingedrungen in die Fülle der Kurven [der Buchstaben und Ligaturen] richtet er seinen Verstand auf jede einzelne Konsonantengruppe.⁴⁰

*prāptaprajñāḥ katham api galadbālabhāvapramohaḥ
kāmautsukyāt punar api pare yauvane naṣṭasaṃjñāḥ |
niḥsāreṣu vyasanavilasadmeghasaudāminīnām
badhnāty āsthām sthirataradhiyā yoṣitām vibhrameṣu || 13 ||*

13. 'Wenn dann irgendwie die Verblendung der Kindheit von ihm abgefallen und er zu Verstand gelangt ist, verliert er wiederum in der Blüte der darauffolgenden Jugend aufgrund seines Verlangens nach der Sinnenlust seinen Intellekt, und er heftet mit gestärktem Verstand sein ganzes Sinnen und Trachten auf die wesenlosen Koketterien der Frauen, welche den bei ihren Aktivitäten funkelnden Blitzen⁴¹ in den Wolken gleichen.

³⁹ Unklar in Konstruktion und Bedeutung. *bandhalekhyakriyā-* scheint sich auf das Schreiben zu beziehen. T übersetzt *lekhyā-* (oder *lekhā-*?) gleich zweimal: *rtsis kyi ri mo* 'Rechenlinie'. – Ich kann *avicalitayā* nur mit *helayā* zusammenbringen.

⁴⁰ Hier bereiten die Bedeutung von *bhogasarge* – T übersetzt *loṅs spyod spros pa* 'Genußmannigfaltigkeit' – und die Ergänzung des unvollständigen *bi ra ti ma tim* – T übersetzt *blo gros rab gsal* 'von äußerst glänzendem Verstand' – Schwierigkeiten. Entgegen der tibetischen Übersetzung der letzten Zeile – 'tritt er als einer, der in bezug auf jede einzelne Konsonantenklasse von äußerst glänzendem Verstand ist, in die Genußvielfalt ein'; dies setzt ein Kompositum auf *°matih* mit partizipialem Vorderglied voraus – vermute ich hinter *bi ra ti* eine finite Verbform. Tentativ restituieren ich sie als **vitarati*.

⁴¹ Die Blitze funkeln bei ihrer Aktivität (*vyasana-*). Natürlich hat Kṣemendra das Wort bewußt gewählt, um die in der Koketterie liegende Lasterhaftigkeit anklingen zu lassen.

*vāci śrotram vāpur api calāliṅganeṣv aṅganānām
ghrāṇam vaktrāsavaparimale svādanam tadrāse ca |
pātre kurvan dr̥ṣam api mukhe suptasarvakriyo 'sau
dhatte mātram tanupariṇatānīva sarvendriyāṇi || 14 ||*

14. 'Das Gehör richtet er auf die Stimme der Frauen, den Leib (d.h. sein Fühlen) auf ihre bewegten Umarmungen, den Geruchssinn auf den Wohlgeruch des Rauschtranks in ihrem Mund, und den Geschmackssinn auf dessen Geschmack, den Gesichtssinn aber auf ihr Gesicht als dessen Gefäß, und zwar in einer Weise, daß alle seine Aktivitäten ruhen – so setzt er gleichsam alle seine Sinnesorgane, die am Körper völlig zur Reife gelangt sind, als Meß[werkzeuge] ein.

*dveṣṭi snigdham paricitaparidveṣaśīlaḥ sa kāmī
vāñchaty anyām⁴² navanavarasaḥ saprayatno 'nyakāmām |
ity anyonyānucitacaritālakṣyavailakṣyasākṣī
hāsyāyaiva prakṛtīvirasaś citratantro 'sya kāmāḥ || 15 ||*

15. 'Von umfassendem Haß gegen das Altvertraute durchdrungen,⁴³ haßt der von Verlangen Erfüllte das [ihm einst] Liebe,⁴⁴ und von der Lust nach immer Neuem gepackt, begehrt er mit größter Anstrengung nach einer anderen⁴⁵, die wiederum nach einem anderen Verlangen hegt; auf diese Weise gereicht das Verlangen dieses [Mannes], das [den] vielfältig[st]en [Empfindungen] unterworfen, von Natur aus widerwärtig und ein Zeuge der sichtbaren⁴⁶ Unnatürlichkeit⁴⁷ des gegenseitigen ungebührlichen Betragens ist, nur zum

⁴² *bam tstsha tye nam D.*

⁴³ So mit der tibetischen Übersetzung! Das Sanskrit ließe sich auch folgendermaßen übersetzen: 'den altvertrauten Haß als Wesensmerkmal habend'.

⁴⁴ Die tibetische Übersetzung *sdañ la mdza' zīn* setzt eher *dveṣe* (oder *dveṣye*) *snihyān* 'dem Haß (oder: dem Hassenswerten) gegenüber Liebe empfindend' voraus.

⁴⁵ So mit der tibetischen Übersetzung, gegen *anem* (< **enām*) des transliterierten Sanskrittextes. Bei *enām* weiß man nicht, auf welchen – vorher genannten! – Begriff es sich beziehen soll.

⁴⁶ *T mtshon nas* scheint *ālakṣya* als Absolutiv zu interpretieren, was natürlich wegen des Kompositums ausscheidet.

⁴⁷ *vailakṣya*- kann ebenso 'embarrassment, confusion; shame' (so T, *skyeis pa*) wie auch 'unnaturalness, affection' bedeuten. Letzteres scheint mir hier eher zu passen.

Lachen.⁴⁸

*alpādhāre (?) viṣayajaladhau majjataḥ sajjataś ca
bhraṣṭasyāsyā (?) pratihatagateḥ kuñjarasyeva pañke |
kiṃkartavyāvagatirahitā jāyate mohamūrcchā
nītasyāndhyam katipayadinasthāyinā yauvanena || 16 ||*

16. ‘Als er, von der nur wenige Tage währenden Jugend verblendet, im Meer der Sinnesgenüsse, das [nur] geringen Halt⁴⁹ [bietet], versinkt und darin steckenbleibt⁵⁰ wie der Elefant im Sumpf, in die Irre geraten und in seinem [Lebens]weg gehemmt, da fällt er in die Ohnmacht der Verblendung,⁵¹ bei der er nicht mehr weiß, was zu tun ist.

*yāvatkālam bhramati calati prīyate jṛmbhate 'sau
smeram smeram vadati madanāliṅgitair aṅgabhaṅgaiḥ |
tāvat tasyopari paripataty eva kālapramuktā
prāleyālīdhavalapalitacchadmanā vadhyamālā || 17 ||*

17. ‘Während er umherirrt, sich bewegt, sich freut, sich entfaltet und unter ständigem Lachen redet, wobei seine Glieder gebogen sind, weil sie vom Liebesgott umarmt werden, da fällt auf ihn der vom Todesgott angelegte, [seine] Hinrichtung [markierende] Kranz herab, nämlich sein [vom Alter] schlohweißes Haar, das so weiß ist wie eine Masse von Schnee.

*kāle kāle kṣaṇakalanayā mohanidrāvaśena
prāptam nāsmīn vapuṣi sukṛtam naiva dattam na bhuktam |
ittham caurair iva sa muṣitaś cintayaty eva duḥkhāt*

⁴⁸ 'dis (nach rgyud) in T hat keine Entsprechung im Sanskrit und ist m.E. nicht zu konstruieren, da das prädikativ gebrauchte *bṛad ślad nīd* (= *hāsyāyaiva*) sicher keinen Instrumental des Agens erfordert.

⁴⁹ *mtha' med la* 'endlos' könnte eine sehr freie Wiedergabe von **alpādhāre* 'das [nur] geringen Halt [bietet]' sein. Man könnte aber auch in der ersten Zeile **asyāgādhe* – *asya* für 'di und *agādhe* für *mtha' med la* – rekonstruieren und in der zweiten Zeile **prabhraṣṭasya* statt *bhraṣṭasyāsyā*, Tib. *rab lhuñ*.

⁵⁰ Da das überlieferte *mtha' la* die Stelle von Skt. *sajjataś* einnimmt, muß man den tibetischen Text wohl zu **thal la* emendieren. Das Substantiv *mtha'* paßt hier weder lexikalisch noch syntaktisch, und *pra-sajj* ist eine gut belegte Entsprechung zu *thal ba*.

⁵¹ In T ist die Konstruktion – offensichtlich absichtlich – geändert worden: 'wird er, des sicheren Wissens beraubt, was er [nun] tun soll, aufgrund der Verwirrung ohnmächtig'.

saṃmūdhānām anuśayaphalaḥ so 'vasādapramādaḥ || 18 ||

18. “Dadurch, daß [ich mich] immer⁵² [nur] um das Augenblickliche kümmerte⁵³ (?), habe [ich], unter dem Einfluß des Schlafes der Verblendung stehend, gute Taten in diesem Leben ('Leib') weder erlangt, gewährt noch genossen.” Als ob er von Dieben beraubt worden wäre, grübelt er voller Qualen in solcher Weise; die Gleichgültigkeit gegenüber dem Untergang⁵⁴ führt bei denen, die verblendet sind, zu [tiefer] Reue.

*tasmin yāte lalitavanitāpuṣpavallīvasante
duṣkarmāptadraviṇatulayā yauvane svapnakalpe |
naṣṭāśeṣaprakṛtir akhilaiḥ kheditāṅgair viraktair
rājyabhraṃśe nrpa iva sukhaṃ so 'tha śocaty atītaṃ || 19 ||*

19. 'Wenn dann diese Jugend, [gleichsam] ein Frühling, der mit den Blumenranken anmutiger Frauen [geziert ist], und einem Traum

⁵² Zu *kāle kāle* gibt Otto BÖHTLINGK im *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung*, St. Petersburg 1879-1889, zwei Belegstellen aus der zweiten Auflage seiner *Sanskrit-Chrestomathie*, St. Petersburg 1877, an, die aus dem *Mahābhārata* ('Parikshit wird vom Schlangendämon Takshaka gebissen', S. 57-65) und dem *Rāmāyaṇa* ('Rāma schildert der Sītā die Beschwerden des Waldlebens', S. 91-93) stammen. Die Strophen lauten: *sa devaṃ param īśānaṃ sarvabhūtahite ratam | brahmāṇam upatasthe vai kāle kāle susaṃyataḥ ||* (57.25-6) und *kāryas trir abhiṣekaś ca kāle kāle ca nityaśaḥ | caratāṃ niyamenaiḥ tasmā duḥkhataraṃ vanam ||* (92.15-6).

⁵³ Die Bedeutung von *kṣaṇakalanā*- 'das Ergreifen des Augenblicks' (?) bleibt fraglich. Vgl. auch *kālakalana*- 'das Abtun seiner Zeit, Sterben', was aber hier nicht paßt. Die tibetische Übersetzung (*ltar*) *śes sin* 'als ... wissend' scheint auf die Bedeutung 'Begreifen, Erkennen' für *kalana*- zurückzugehen; der Sinn bleibt dennoch ebenso dunkel wie die Konstruktion; der von mir *metri causa* rekonstruierte Instrumental **kalanayā* wird nicht durch das Tibetische gestützt. Vgl. noch *kalanā*- 'Treiben' in 8d und *kalayati* 'bedenkt' in 24b.

⁵⁴ *ñams ñes* fehlt in den bekannten Tibetischwörterbüchern von Heinrich August JÄSCHKE (London 1881), Sarat Chandra DAS (Calcutta 1902), LOKESH CHANDRA (New Delhi 1958-1961) und den mir sonst zugänglichen Glossaren. Im *Zang-Han-Dacidian* von ZHANG Yisun (Beijing 1985) findet sich die folgende Bedeutungsangabe, die gut zur Vorlage *ava-sāda*- paßt: (1) *byus ñes sam pham gyon* (2) *stobs śugs ñams pa dan | gyon gud byun ba*. Für *byus ñes* gibt Melvyn GOLDSTEIN in seinem *Tibetan-English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan*, Kathmandu 1975, 'catastrophe/ disaster/ misfortune caused by bad or incorrect strategy' als Bedeutung an; *pham gyon* fehlt auch bei ihm, es bedeutet aber zweifellos 'Niederlage', vgl. *gyon* 'loss'. – Gestützt auf T (*de ni ñams ñes bag med*) konjiziere ich so 'vasādapramādaḥ, das ich als Tatpuruṣa-Kompositum interpretiere.

ähnlich,⁵⁵ wie ein durch schlechte Taten erworbener Besitz dahingegangen ist, dann betrauert er, dessen ganzes Wesen zugrundegegangen ist, mit allen seinen [inzwischen] erschöpften und leidenschaftlos gewordenen Gliedern sein vergangenes Glück, so wie dies ein König beim Verlust seiner Herrschaft tut.

*āyur nītaṃ na ca samucitaṃ yācakāyopanītaṃ
nāpy unnītaṃ diśi diśi yaśaḥ satpathaṃ na pratītaṃ |
pītaṃ yācñāviṣaṃ adhigataṃ sphītaśaṃtāpaśītaṃ
bhītaṃ pāpāt kim api na mayā yat tad eva praṇītaṃ || 20 ||*

20. “Mein Leben habe ich zuende geführt, und nichts Angemessenes habe ich den Bittstellern zugeführt; Ruhm habe ich nicht in alle Himmelsrichtungen emporgeführt, und den rechten Weg habe ich auch nicht durchschaut; das Gift des Bittens habe ich getrunken, Hitze und Kälte sind mir reichlich zuteil geworden, vor den bösen Taten habe ich mich überhaupt nicht gefürchtet, was immer es gab, das habe ich getan!”

*kvāsau hemadrumaruciḥarā hāriṇī yauvanaśrīḥ
kāyaḥ kvāyaṃ kṛmihatataruprāyavicchāyapākaḥ |
dūrād etāḥ pariḥṛtadrśā koṇalīnaṃ taruṇyaḥ
śuṣkaṃ śītaṃ tarum iva vane vānaraṃ māṃ vadanti || 21 ||*

21. “Welch ein Unterschied besteht doch zwischen der Schönheit der Jugend, die betörend ist und den Glanz goldener Bäume übertrifft, und diesem Körper, der völlig glanzlos und alt geworden ist und einem von Würmern zerfressenen Baum gleicht! Weit wenden die jungen Frauen ihre Augen von mir ab, der ich mich auf einen Stock stütze⁵⁶ und einem vertrockneten und erstarrten⁵⁷ Baum im Wald gleiche, und sie schimpfen mich einen Affen.”

so 'yaṃ kāyaḥ śrayati vilayaṃ naiva māyānikāyaḥ

⁵⁵ Die tibetische Wiedergabe von *svapnakalpe* durch *rmi lam du brtag pa* ‘eine Vorstellung, die man im Traum (hegt)’ ist ungewöhnlich, um es vorsichtig auszudrücken.

⁵⁶ *koṇalīnaṃ* ‘auf einem Stock gelehnt’ ist doppelt mißverstanden worden: *koṇa-* wurde als ‘Ecke’ (zur) und *līna-* als ‘hängend an’ (*zen pa*) übersetzt.

⁵⁷ *'khyags pa* ‘gefroren, koaguliert, kristallisiert’ gibt ohne Zweifel *śītaṃ* wieder. Daher verbietet sich die sonst ansprechende Konjektur *śīrṇam*.

srastāḥ sarve daśanaṁaṇayas te ca keśāḥ na doṣāḥ |
gātrotsāhe praharati marun naiva mohaprarohe
kṣīṇasyeyam śayanaśaraṇasyāpi tṛṣṇākṣayā me || 22 ||

22. “Dieser Körper ist dem Verfall bestimmt, nicht aber die Menge der Trugbilder; alle die perlengleichen Zähne sind ausgefallen, auch die Haare, nicht jedoch die Laster; die Energie des Körpers zerstört der Rheumatismus (Wind), nicht aber das Emporschießen der Verblendung; obwohl ich doch hinfällig auf meinem Lager ruhe, ist meine Gier unvergänglich!”

saṁcintyati prasṛtaviṣamaśvāsahikkārdito 'sau
sadyas tyaktum ciraparicitām udyato lokayātrām |
mūkībhūtaḥ svajanavirahaṁ dhyāyati dhvastadhairyaḥ
śakticchedād ṛṇam iva mahat prāptakālo daridraḥ || 23 ||

23. ‘So überlegt er, und während er von einem andauernden rasselnden Atmen und Schluckauf gepeinigt wird,⁵⁸ schickt er sich an, seinen langgewohnten Lebenswandel ganz plötzlich hinter sich zu lassen; seiner Festigkeit beraubt und stumm geworden, erwägt der Arme, dessen [Todes]stunde gekommen ist, sich von seinen Angehörigen wie von einer großen Schuld zu trennen, weil er seiner Fähigkeit beraubt wurde.⁵⁹

bhūmiṁ gehaṁ vasu parijanaṁ putradārādi cānyat
tāvat tāvat kalayati dhiyā prāṇaparyantakāle |
yāvaj janmany api punar asau snehamohānubandhais
tais tair antaḥkṛtaparicayas tanmayībhāvam eti || 24 ||

⁵⁸ *hikkā* ‘Schlucken, Schluckauf’. Vgl. *svāsahikkīn* ‘an Asthma und Schlucken leidend’ (pw; Quelle *Carakasamhitā* 6,19). – Die Silbenfolge *°hikkādi te pau* habe ich tentativ als *°hikkārdito 'sau* restituiert. Während das von mir angenommene *ardita-* keine Spur in BKAtib hinterlassen hat, weist *'di ni* deutlich auf das sich hinter *pau* verbergende (*a*)*sau* hin. *prasṛta-* ‘ausgedehnt’ muß dann temporal verstanden werden.

⁵⁹ Bei dieser Interpretation folge ich der Anregung meines Kollegen DAS. Problematisch bleibt die Interpretation von *daridra-* ‘unstet, umherschweifend; bettelhaft, arm’ im Sinne von ‘beklagenswert’. Auch sind mir Sinn und Funktion des Ausdrucks *śakticchedāt* unklar. – Theoretisch möglich wäre auch, die gesamte letzte Zeile als Vergleich aufzufassen: ‘(erwägt [der Sterbende], sich von seinen Angehörigen zu trennen,) gleich einem Armen, [der sich anschickt,] sich von einer großen Schuld [zu befreien], wenn die rechte Zeit gekommen ist, weil er seiner Fähigkeiten beraubt wurde.’ Gegen diese Interpretation sprechen aber der unsinnige Inhalt und die Positionierung des *iva* nach *ṛṇam*.

24. 'Sein Land, sein Haus, seinen Besitz, seine Dienerschaft, seine Söhne, seine Frau und anderes – alles dies bedenkt er in seiner Todesstunde in seinem Herzen so sehr, daß er auch in seiner [nächsten] Wiedergeburt durch alle diese Bande der Liebe und der Verblendung in seinem innersten Wesen gefesselt und wiederum von ihnen abhängig wird.

*duḥkham duḥsahapāpakarmajanitam kumbhīsahasrāntare
bhuktvā rauravakālasūtranarakeṣv āvartate yoniṣu |
yad vā puṇyakalārjitam sukhapadam tat samkṣaye duḥkhadam
sānāgāmiphalāptaye vimaladhīs tasmāt samādhīyatām || 25 ||*

25. 'Nachdem er in Tausenden von Kumbhī[pāka]-Höllen⁶⁰ das Leid genossen hat, das durch unerträgliche böse Taten bewirkt wurde, wirbelt er in den [verschiedensten] Geburtsformen in den Raurava- und Kālasūtra-Höllen⁶¹ umher; und auch die glückhaften Stellungen, die er sich durch das Los heilvoller Taten erworben hat, werden bei ihrem Schwinden leidvoll; deshalb muß sich ein lauter Herz ganz darauf konzentrieren,⁶² die Frucht des Nichtwiederkehrens zu erlangen.'

*iti bhīmabhavāmbhodhisamāntāraṇakṛtavrataḥ |
samādideśa bhagavān sattvānām kuśalāptaye || 26 ||*

⁶⁰ Diese Hölle, in der die Verdammten in einem Topf gekocht werden, ist schon aus der hinduistischen Literatur gut bekannt; vgl. PW, s.v. Candragomin erwähnt sie ebenfalls in Strophe 86 seines *Śiṣyalekha*: *kumbhīpākakvathitakalilād uṣṇasamrambhavagāt kṛtvod-grīvaṃ kṣaṇam api sukham labdhanisvāsamokṣāḥ | krodhāpūrṇaiḥ subahubhir ayomudgarais tādya mānā manyante taṃ param iva sukham nārakā yadvad eva ||* 'Die Höllenwesen sehen dies als höchstes Glück schon an, / Wenn sie den Hals nur einen Augenblick erheben dürfen / Aus dem Gebrodele der heißen Kumbhīpāka-Hölle, / In der die Hitze heftig wütet, und sie dann erlöst / ein wenig leichter atmen können, auch wenn sie dabei / Von vielen grimmigen Eisenhämmern ganz zerschlagen werden.' (Zitiert aus meiner noch nicht veröffentlichten Ausgabe und Übersetzung des *Śiṣyalekha*.)

⁶¹ Zu diesen vielfach in der buddhistischen Literatur beschriebenen Höllen vgl. etwa Daigan and Alicia MATSUNAGA, *The Buddhist Concept of Hell*, New York 1972, S.44; 85-86; 109-111 (Kālasūtra) und 44-80; 90-92; 111-113.

⁶² Wegen des Passivs *samādhīyatām* ist die Konstruktion nicht ganz einfach. Soll man mit dem Blockdruck *sā ... vimaladhīs* (Karmadhāraya) lesen oder so 'nāgāmiphalāptaye vimaladhīs (Bahuvrīhi) konjizieren? Bei der Übersetzung bereitet beides Schwierigkeiten. BKAtib interpretiert das erste Kompositum als *sa + anāgāmi-phalāptaye*: *phyir mi 'oñ bcas 'bras thob slad du*. Es ist mir unklar, was damit gemeint sein könnte.

26. Dies hat der Erhabene, der es zur Aufgabe gemacht hat, [die Lebewesen sicher] über den schrecklichen Ozean des Seins hinüberge-
langen zu lassen, vorgetragen, damit die Lebewesen das Heil er-
langen mögen.

|| *iti kṣemendraviracitāyāṃ Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatāyāṃ*
Garbhāvākṛāntinirdeśo nāma daśamaḥ pallavaḥ ||

Dies war in der von Kṣemendra verfaßten
'Wunscherfüllenden Ranke der Großtaten des Bodhisattva'
die zehnte Ranke mit dem Titel
'Die Herabkunft des Embryo [in den Mutterschoß]'

Textbefund und Rekonstruktion des Garbhāvākṛāntyavadānam⁶³

Derge, section 'Khri śiñ, vol. *Ke*, fol. (95a3-99b2))

Peking, section *Mdo 'grel*, vol. *Ge*, fol. [53a5-55b3]

|| tsam pho pānte bi ma la na li nī tī ra paryanta bā sī
śāstā pūrve ba ka la bhu ba (5) nā nu gra hā ya pra bṛttaḥ |
kṛṣṭa sparśā ba ga ti ru tsi nā bhikṣu ṇā nanda nāmbā
garbhā raṃ bhāt pra bhṛ ti dza na tā dsanma bṛttim dsa ga da |

|| 'jig rten mtha' dag ñe bar gzuñ⁶⁴ slad rab žugs ston pa dag ni sñon |
| groñ khyer tsam pa dan ñe dri med padma'i (6) rdziñ ñogs⁶⁵ 'gram na bžugs |
| kun dga' bo [6] žes bya ba reg na bde ba'i 'od ldan dge sloñ gis |
| dris nas mñal brtsams⁶⁶ la sogs skye bo'i tshogs kyī skye ba'i⁶⁷ spyod tshul gsuñs |

***campopānte vimalanalinitiraparyantavāsī**
śāstā pūrvam sakalabhuvanānugrahāya pravṛttaḥ |
prṣṭaḥ sparśāvagatirucinā (?) bhikṣuṇānandanāmnā
garbhārambhāt prabhṛti janatājanmavṛttim jagāda || 1 ||*

⁶³ Verwendete Symbole: Spitze Klammern (< >) bezeichnen zu Athetierendes, eckige Klammern ([]) zu Ergänzendes. Das Gleichheitszeichen (=) zwischen zwei Konsonanten soll andeuten, daß diese als Ligatur geschrieben wurden.

⁶⁴ bzuñ P[eking], gzuñ D[erge].

⁶⁵ dogs P, ñogs D.

⁶⁶ tsam P, brtsams D.

⁶⁷ bo'i P, ba'i D.

l śuklaiḥ kṛṣṇaiḥ śa ba la ru tsi bherde hi nāṃ karma sū trais=
tsi traṃ lo ke ba hu ta ra śaṃ (95b) dṛ śya te dsanma bastraṃ l
l dzīrṇa syā pi bya pa na ma li na sne ha li naḥ pra yatne
ya sya tyantaṃ tse ra pa ri ṇa tirne ba niryā ti rā gaḥ l

l 'jig rten du ni dkar nag 'dren ma'i 'od can las skud kyis [7] bkra ba'i l
l lus can mams kyī skye ba'i⁶⁸ gos ni rab (2) mañ gnas skabs mthoñ gyur te l
l śin tu 'bad pas gañ žig yun riñ yoñs sgyur hrul⁶⁹ por gyur mod kyañ l
l gduñ ba'i dri ma snum chags tshon ni [8] med pa ñid du 'gyur ma yin l

***śuklaiḥ kṛṣṇaiḥ śabalarucibhir dehināṃ karmasūtrais
citraṃ loke bahutaradaśaṃ dṛśyate janmavastraṃ l
jīrṇasyāpi vyasanamalināsnehalīnaḥ prayatnair
yasyātyantaṃ cirapariṇater naiva niryāti rāgaḥ || 2 ||***

l puṃ saḥ śu kraṃ pi ga li ta dhṛ te rārta paṃ yo ṣi taśtsa
sparsā be śa bya ti ka ra dzṛ ṣoḥ (3) saṃ ga me saṃ ni pā tāt l
l e kī bhū taṃ pra dza ti ni ya māt ka sya tsi bī dza bhā baṃ
ponte stasmin bha ba ti sa ha sā paṃ ni kā še ya yāgneḥ l

l skyes pa bud med dag kyañ 'dzin pa rnam⁷⁰ ñams reg par žugs byas śin l
l sbyor ba⁷¹ bsten pa'i khu ba zla mtshan yañ dag (4) 'grog la ltuñ gyur pa l
l gcig tu gyur ciñ [53b] ñes pa 'ga' las⁷² sa bon dag gi⁷³ dños por 'gyur⁷⁴ l
l su žig khoñ der 'phral la 'jug ste dper na bsrubs pa'i me bzin no l

***puṃsaḥ śukraṃ vīgalitadhṛter ārtavaṃ yoṣitaś ca
sparsāveśavyatikarajuṣoḥ saṃgame saṃnipātāt l
ekībhūtaṃ vrajati niyamāt kasya cid bijabhāvaṃ
yo 'ntas tasmin bhavati sahasā saṃnikāṣe yathāgniḥ || 3 ||***

l rā godgā raḥ sphā ṭi ka śa ka laṃ me gha mambho dhi pā thaḥ
puṣpa mo dasti la ka mi bā śa naiḥ (5) kāntsa naṃ bāgni tā paḥ l

⁶⁸ *bo'i P, ba'i D.*

⁶⁹ *srul D, hrul P.*

⁷⁰ *rnams P, rnam D.*

⁷¹ *pa P, ba D.*

⁷² *'gal la P, ga' las D.*

⁷³ *gis D, gi P.*

⁷⁴ *gyur D, 'gyur P.*

l so yaṃ garbhaṃ bi śa ti-ni ya tai ra sya saṃ lakṣya bṛttir=
bā yurga ndhai ri ba ba hu bi dhaiḥ karma bhirbā sya mā naḥ l

l śel dum dag la tshon gyi⁷⁵ rab dbye sprin la chu yi gter gyi chu l
l til [3] la me tog dri bzañ gser la me yis gduñs bzin (6) dal bu yis l
l dri rnams kyi⁷⁶ bzin rnam pa mañ po'i las kyi bsgos par gyur pa'i rluñ l
l spyod tshul byed po yis kyañ yañ⁷⁷ dag mi mtshon⁷⁸ 'di de nañ [3] du 'jug l

***rāgodgāraḥ sphaṭikaśakalaṃ megham ambhodhipāthaḥ
puṣpāmodas tilam iva śanaiḥ kāñcanam vāgnitāpaḥ l
so 'yaṃ garbhaṃ viśati niyatair apy asaṃlakṣyavṛttir
vāyur gandhair iva bahuvidhaiḥ karmabhir vāsyamānaḥ || 4 ||***

l tasmin suṣma kra ma pa ri ṇa tirmī na paryuṣṭa ka so
nā nā kā ra pra tsu ra ra tsa nā tsi tra rū po (96a) sya lakṣyaḥ l
l kaṃ tsi ta kā laṃ ba ha ti bi kṛ tiṃ nirbi kā rā ya mā nā
mā yuḥ rāñḍi dza la ma ya i ba byakta bhaktirma yū raḥ l

l der ni phra ba'i rim pas yoñs su 'gyur zin rañ bzin gyis btsir 'di⁷⁹ l
l ji srid dus su rnam par 'gyur ba med pa bzin du (2) rnam 'gyur 'dzin l
l rnam pa sna tshogs rab mañ bkod pa bkra [4] ba'i gzugs ni mi mtshon te l
l rma bya'i sgo ṇa chu yi⁸⁰ rañ bzin rma bya'i rnam pa⁸¹ mi gsal bzin l

***tasmin sūkṣmakramapariṇatir mīnaparyuṣṭake (?) 'sau
nānākārapracuraracanācitrarūpo 'py alakṣyaḥ l
kaṃ cit kālaṃ vahati vikṛtiṃ nirvikārāyamāno
māyūrāṇḍe jalamaya iva vyaktabhaktir mayūraḥ || 5 ||***

l tatrā dhā nāt gha na ka la la tā śalya pa śyā dya ba sthā
tyaktvā tāstā dza ṭha [– –] ni te no śma (3) nā pa tsya mā naḥ l
l pūrṇiṃ mā sairna ba bhi ra tha bā barta karma kra mo pau
kle śaṃ bhukte ki ma pi bi kha mi duḥkha saṃ dzñā pra pannaḥ l

⁷⁵ gyis D, gyi P.

⁷⁶ kyi P, kyi D.

⁷⁷ de P, yañ D.

⁷⁸ mtshan D, mtshon P.

⁷⁹ gyi btsir 'di P, gyis btsir 'dir D.

⁸⁰ yis P, yi D.

⁸¹ par D, pa P.

l der ni mer mer nur nur nar nar gor gor la sogs gnas skabs bzuñ l
 l de dañ de dag lto yis bskyed [5] pa'i drod kyis smin žin⁸² (4) btañ⁸³ byas nas l
 l zla ba rdzogs pa'am yañ na dgu yis 'khyil pa'i⁸⁴ las kyis rim pa 'di l
 l sdug bsñal 'du šes rab ldan ci yañ ruñ ba'i mi bzad ñon moñs spyod l

***tatrādhānād ghanakalalatāśalyapeśyādyavasthā[s]
 tyaktvā tās tā jaṭharajanitenošmaṇā pacyamānaḥ l
 pūrṇair māsair navabhir athavāvartakarmakramo 'sau
 kleśaṃ bhuñkte kim api viṣamaṃ duḥkhasaṃjñāprapannaḥ || 6 ||***

l kā lya bṛttāt swa ya mi ba pha laṃ bi tsyu taṃ karmma pā kāt
 tatkā lotthai ra bi ha ta dza baiḥ pre ri (5) taḥ pla ti bā teḥ l
 l lakṣya bhyā pā ya ta na sa tsi bai rā tsi taḥ karma bandai
 rnirya tyam taḥ śa ra i ba dha nuryantra neryantra muktaḥ l

l dus su yu ba dag las 'bras bu rañ ñid ltuñ bžin mñal smin pas l
 l de dus lañs pa'i ma yi rluñ ni mi dman mgyogs pas (6) rab bskul nas l
 l mtshon cha goms pa'i gnas kyis grogs po las kyis [7] 'chiñ bas⁸⁵ rdzogs gyur pa l
 l gzu yi 'khrul 'khor bkañ nas btañ ba'i mda' bžin nañ nas phyir 'thon 'gyur l

***kāle vṛntāt svayam iva phalaṃ vicyutaṃ karmapākāt
 tatkalotthair avihatajavaiḥ preritaḥ pūtivātaiḥ l
 lakṣyābhyāsāyatanasacivair ācitaḥ karmabandhair
 niryāty antaḥ śara iva dhanuryantrañair yantramuktaḥ || 7 ||***

l uttā na syaḥ pa ra la ra sa naṣtsu bu kā graṃ li hā no
 nastam mā tuḥ bi ba ti ya da sau nai (96b) ba karṇe nā nā kṣṇa l
 l dsanmā bhyā sa bya pa na ba ta nā yā sa sam bā sa lī nā
 sā ta syā gre sa ka la ka la nā de śi nī bā pa nai ba l

l gan rkyal kha gdañs ro 'dzin drag⁸⁶ pos nu tog rtse la 'dzin byed ciñ l
 l ma yi nu zo [8] 'thuñ gañ 'di yi⁸⁷ rna bas (2) min žin mig gis min l
 l skye bar goms pa'i gduñ bas bskyed pa'i ñon moñs gnas pa'i rol pa des l

⁸² *ciñ D, žin P.*

⁸³ *'phel P, btañ D.*

⁸⁴ *Lies ba 'i?*

⁸⁵ *'tshiñ ba 'i las kyis D, las kyis 'chiñ bas P.*

⁸⁶ *drañ P, drag D.*

⁸⁷ *'thuñs pas gañ 'di D, 'thuñ gañ 'di yi P.*

l de yi mdun du spros pa mtha' dag ston byed bag chags kho na'o l [[54a]]

***uttānāsyah saralarasanaś cūcukāgram lihānaḥ
stanyaṃ mātuḥ pibati yad asau naiva kaṇena nākṣṇā l
janmābhyāsavyasanayanāyāsasaṃvāsalinā
sā tasyāgre sakalakalanādeśinī vāsanaiva || 8 ||***

l syu tai rantarbi [– –] bi ṣa ya swā da saṃ bā da bhe dai
rbyāstaḥ suptairbi ṣa pa i ba byakta taṃ tu ((3)) pra tā naiḥ l
l mū ḍhaḥ so tha pra kṛ ti pa tsi bai rendri yairdatta saṃ dzñāḥ
stanyā lā pā kṛ ti pa re ma ma sparśa nairbitti dhātrīm l

l rnam mañ yul gyi⁸⁸ ñams myon bskyed pa'i dbye bas grub pa⁸⁹ nañ khyab pa l
l gsal bar skud pa rab tu rgyas par legs sbyar pad rtsa'i⁹⁰ ((4)) cha śas bzin l
l de nas rañ bzin dbaṅ po'i grogs kyis⁹¹ [[2]] 'du śes byin pa'i rmoṅs pa de l
l nu ma'i don du brjod ciñ yoṅs su mñe ba'i reg pas ma ma rig l

***syūtair antar vividhaviṣayasvādasampādabhedair
vyāptaḥ sūtair (?) bisalava iva vyaktatantupratānaiḥ l
mūḍhaḥ so 'tha prakṛtisacivair indriyair dattasaṃjñāḥ
stanyālāpākṛtiparimalasparśanair vetti dhātrīm || 9 ||***

l hastā karṣeḥ śa ya na ba pa nā gharṣa ṇaiḥ pī ḍya mā naḥ
sthā ne stha ne ta ra li ta ta nuḥ kī ṭa kairbha kṣya ((5)) mā ṇaḥ l
l ni tyā krandī ba tsa na vi ra hāt kā ya kīm kle [–] śai laṃ
kanbo brū te bi ṣa ma bi pa dā mā spa da twaṃ pra yā taḥ l

l mal stan gos nmams lag pas bskyod pa'i 'dar byed dag gis mnan pa dañ l
l gnas dañ gnas [[3]] su ya yor 'gyur lus srog chags nmams kyis⁹² ((6)) zos gyur pas l
l rtag tu nu zin tshig dañ bral bas lus kyi ñon moṅs rgyud⁹³ ma ni l
l su la smra ste mi bzad rgud pa ñid kyi gnas su rab tu gyur⁹⁴ l

⁸⁸ gyis D. gyi P.

⁸⁹ pa 'i P, pa D.

⁹⁰ rtse 'i D, rtsa 'i P.

⁹¹ kyi P, kyis D.

⁹² kyi P, kyis D.

⁹³ brgyud D, rgyud P.

⁹⁴ 'gyur D, gyur P.

***hastākarṣaiḥ śayanavasanaṅgharṣaṇaiḥ pīḍyamāṇaḥ
sthāne sthāne taralitatanuḥ kīṭakair bhakṣyamāṇaḥ |
nityākrandī vacanavirahāt kāyikīm kle[śa]śailīm
kaṃ bobrūte viṣamavipadām āspadatvaṃ prayātaḥ || 10 ||***

| pī to dvanteśtshu ri ta pa da naḥ protstsha lat kṣī ra stu rai
ruttā no rasta la ni pa ti tai rukṣi to lakṣya te sau |
| mā yā ba (97a) dhāḥ sma ra ṇa ha ra ṇa prau dha ke lī bi lā se
ha pe ne balphu re ta ru tsi nā nirbhā ra byāpta kā yaḥ |

| gduñ bas⁹⁵ [4] skyugs śin rab 'thor⁹⁶ 'o⁹⁷ ma'i tshogs kyis bzin ni sbags gyur te⁹⁸ |
| gan rkyal bran gi dbus su lhuñ⁹⁹ bas mtshan pas bran par¹⁰⁰ gyur pa 'di |
| sgyu ma'i bud (2) med la 'phrogs¹⁰¹ mchog tu rtse dga'i rol [5] pa dran pa las |
| dgod pa'i 'od zer śin tu gsal bas lus la¹⁰² rab tu khyab¹⁰³ pa bzin |

***pīḍodvāntaiś churitavadanaḥ procchalatkṣīrapūrain
uttānorastalanipatitair ukṣito lakṣyate 'sau |
māyāvadhvāḥ smaraṇaharaṇapraudhakelivilāse
hāseneva sphuritarucinā nirbharavyāptakāyaḥ || 11 ||***

| so tha prāpte li pi pa ri tsa ye he la yā datta hasteh
saṃ sā resminna bi tsa la ta yā bandha le khya kre yā su |
| dzanmā (3) bartam ni dza mi ba la khan dīrgha mo kā ra mā dau
barga barge bi ra ti ma tim bho ga sarge ni biṣṭaḥ |
| de nas¹⁰⁴ de ni rtse bas yig phren¹⁰⁵ yonś 'dris dag la lag gtad thob |

⁹⁵ *ltuñ ba D, gduñ bas P.*

⁹⁶ 'thob DP; wegen der Sanskritvorlage *procchalaṭ* 'hervorquellend' ist es klar, daß 'thob nur eine Verderbnis von 'thor sein kann.

⁹⁷ 'og P, 'o D.

⁹⁸ *cin P, te D.*

⁹⁹ *dbusu P.*

¹⁰⁰ *pas P, par D.*

¹⁰¹ 'grogs DP; wegen der Sanskritvorlage °*haraṇa*° muß man dies wohl zu 'phrogs verbessern.

¹⁰² *lus la om. D.*

¹⁰³ *khyā P, khyab D.*

¹⁰⁴ *bas D, nas P.*

¹⁰⁵ 'phren D, phren P.

l 'khor ba 'dir¹⁰⁶ ni g.yo med 'chiñ ba'i [6] rtsis kyi¹⁰⁷ ri mo'i las dag la¹⁰⁸ |
 l rañ (4) gi skye ba'i 'khor mo riñ du 'bri bzin om yig la sogs pa |
 l sde dañ sde la blo gros rab gsal loñs spyod spros pa ñes par 'jug |

***so 'tha prāpte lipiparicaye helayā dattahaste
 saṃsāre 'sminn avicalitayā bandhalekhyakriyāsu |
 janmāvartam nijam iva likhan dīrgham omkāram ādau
 varge varge vi[ta]rati matim bhogasarge nivīṣṭaḥ || 12 ||***

l prāptaḥ pradzñāḥ ka tha ma pi ga ladbhā la bhā ba pra mo haḥ
 ka motsu kyāt pu na ra pi pa ri yau ba ne naṣṭa saṃ dzñāḥ |
 l (5) nissā re ṣu bya pa na bi la sad me gha sau dā mi nī nām
 ba dhva tya sthām sthi ra ta ra dhi ya yau ṣi tām bi bhra me ṣu |
 l ji zig ltar yañ byis pa'i dños po'i [7] rab rmoñs bral nas śes rab 'thob¹⁰⁹ |
 l slad nas kyañ ni lañ tsho dar la 'dod pas rab bslañ 'du śes ñams |
 l (6) sdug bsñal mdzes pa'i sprin¹¹⁰ glog¹¹¹ bud med rnams kyi rtse dga' rol pa dag |
 l sñiñ po [8] med la rab tu brtan pa'i blo yis mñon par 'dod pa beñs |

***prāptaprajñāḥ katham api galadbālabhāvapramohaḥ
 kāmautsukyāt punar api pare yauvane naṣṭasaṃjñāḥ |
 niḥsāreṣu vyasanavilasadmeghasaudāmininām
 badhnāty āsthām sthirataradhiyā yoṣitām vibhrameṣu || 13 ||***

l bā tsi śro traṃ ba pu ra pi tsa lā liñ ga ne śvaṃ dza nā nām
 ghā naṃ bakṣaṃ pa ba pa ri mā le sva da naṃ tad ra si tsa |
 l pā tri kurbban (97b) dṛ śa ma pi mu ṣe supta sarba kri yo pau
 dhatte ma traṃ sta nu pa ri ṇa tām nī sarben tri yā ni |
 l bud med rnams kyi tshig la rna ba lus ni g.yo med 'khyud pa la |
 l kha yi chañ gi dri la sna dañ de yi ro la myoñ byed dañ |
 l bzin la mig [54b] kyañ snod (2) du bgyis nas bya ba thams cad bsñal ba 'di |

¹⁰⁶ 'di P, 'dir D.

¹⁰⁷ rtsis kyis P, rtsibs kyi D.

¹⁰⁸ las D, la P.

¹⁰⁹ thob P, 'thob D.

¹¹⁰ sbrin D, sprin P.

¹¹¹ bzlog P, glog D.

| lus ni yoṅs su 'gyur ba'i dbaṅ po thams cad tshod¹¹² dag 'dzin pa bzin |

***vāci śrotram vapur api calāliṅganeṣv aṅganānām
ghrāṇam vaktrāsavaparimale svādanam tadrase ca |
pātre kurvan dṛśam api mukhe suptasarvakriyo 'sau
dhatte mātṛam tanupariṇatā<m>nī[va] sarvendriyāṇi || 14 ||***

| dveṣṭi snigdham pa ri tsi ta pa ri dve ṣa śī laḥ sakā mī
bam tstsha tya neṃ na ba na ba ra paḥ pa pra yotna nya kā mām |
| i tya ((3)) nyo nyā nu tsi tsa ri tā lakṣa bai lakṣya pā kṣu
hā syā yai ba pra kṛ ti bi ra paṣṭsi tra taṃ tro sya kā maḥ |

| sdaṅ la mdza' žin yoṅs su 'dres¹¹³ la yoṅs sdaṅ naṅ tshul [[2]] 'dod ldan de |
| gsar pa gsar pa la chags 'bad bcas gzan gyis¹¹⁴ 'dod ma gzan dag 'dod |
| de ltar ((4)) phan tshun rigs¹¹⁵ min spyod pa mtshon nas skyen pa mthon gyur pa |
| 'di yi 'dod pa ran bzin [[3]] ro bral bkra ba'i rgyud 'dis bžad¹¹⁶ slad űid |

***dveṣṭi snigdham paricitaparidveṣaśīlaḥ sa kāmī
vāñchaty anyām navanavarasaḥ saprayatno 'nyakāmām |
ity anyonyānucitacaritālakṣyavailakṣyasākṣi
hāsyāyaiva prakṛtīvirasaś citratantro 'sya kāmāḥ || 15 ||***

| a syā dhā re bi ṣa ya dza la dhau madzdza teḥ sadzdza taṣṭsa
bhraṣṭa sya [–] prati ha te ga teḥ kuṇḍza ra sye ba kampe |
| kiṃ karta byā ((5)) ba ga ti ra hi tā dzā ya te mo ha mūrttsa
nī ta syāndhyam ka ti pa ya di na sthā yi nā yau ba ne na |

| űin žag dag ni űuṅ žig gnas pa'i laṅ tshos loṅ bar byas gyur ciṅ¹¹⁷ |
| 'dam la glaṅ po bzin du yul gyi chu gter dag ni mtha' med la¹¹⁸ |
| byiṅ žin [[4]] *thal la¹¹⁹ ((6)) rab lhuṅ 'gro ba dag ni rab tu űams pa 'di |

¹¹² *chod* D, *tshod* P.

¹¹³ *'dres* D, *'dris* P.

¹¹⁴ *gyi* P, *gyis* D.

¹¹⁵ *rig* P, *rigs* D.

¹¹⁶ *'dis bžad* D, *'di gzan* P.

¹¹⁷ *'gyur žin* P, *gyur ciṅ* D.

¹¹⁸ *de la* D, *med la* P.

¹¹⁹ *mtha' la* DP, die Sanskritvorlage lautet *sajjatas'*.

| ci žig bya žes nes pa'i šes pa dañ bral rmoñs pas brgyal¹²⁰ bar 'gyur |

***alpādhāre viṣayajaladhau majjataḥ sajjataś ca
bhraṣṭa[syā]sya pratihatagateḥ kuñjarasyeva pañke |
kiṃkartavyāvagatirahitā jāyate mohamūrcchā
nītasyāndhyam katipayadinasthāyinā yauvanena || 16 ||***

| yā bat kha laṃ bhra ma ti tsa la ti pri ya tai dzṛṃ bha te sau
sme raṃ sme raṃ ba da tiṃ da nā lim gi tai raṃ ga bhaṃ gaiḥ |
| tā batta syo pa (98a) ri pa ri pa ta tya bā kā la pra muktāṃ
pra le yā lī dha ba la pa li ta tstshadma nā ba dhya mā nā |

| ji srid 'di ni rtse žiñ 'khyams¹²¹ dañ g.yo dañ dga' dañ glal ba dañ |
| [5] 'dod pas 'khyud pa'i lus ni 'khyog pas 'dzum žiñ 'dzum žiñ smra byed pa |
| de srid de yi¹²² steñ du (2) dus kyis rab 'phañs gsod¹²³ rtags me tog 'phreñ¹²⁴ |
| kha ba'i 'phreñ¹²⁵ ba ltar dkar skra dkar¹²⁶ zol gyis yonś su [6] 'bab pa ñid |

***yāvatkālaṃ bhramati calati priyate jṛmbhate 'sau
smeraṃ smeram vadati madanāliṅgitair aṅgabhaṅgaiḥ |
tāvat tasyopari paripataty eva kālapramuktā
prāleyālīdhavalapalitacchadmanā vadhyamālā || 17 ||***

| kā le kā le kṣa ṇa ka la na ya mo hi ni drā ba se na
prāptaṃ nāsmiñ ba su ṣi <su ṣi> su kṛ ta nai ba dattaṃ na (3) bhuktaṃ |
| irthaṃ tsau rai ri ba sa mu ṣi ta śtsinta ya tye ba duḥ khāt
saṃ mū dhā nā ma nu śa ya pha laḥ pā ba sā daḥ pra mā daḥ |
| gti mug gñid la chags pas dus dañ dus la skad cig¹²⁷ ltar šes śiñ |
| lus 'dir legs byas ma thob byin pa ñid min spyad pa (4) min pa yi¹²⁸ |

¹²⁰ rgyal P, brgyal D.

¹²¹ 'khyam P, 'khyams D.

¹²² yis D, yi P.

¹²³ bsod P, gsod D.

¹²⁴ phreñ P, 'phreñ D.

¹²⁵ phreñ P, 'phreñ D.

¹²⁶ skra dkar om. P.

¹²⁷ cag D.

¹²⁸ spyad pa min pa yi P, spyad pa ñid (4) min pa'i D.

l rgyu 'dis de ni rkun pos brkus bzin [7] sdug bsñal dag las¹²⁹ sems pa ñid l
l kun tu rmoñs pa mams kyis ñams¹³⁰ ñes bag med 'gyod pa'i 'bras bu can l

***kāle kāle kṣaṇakalanayā mohanidrāvaśena
prāptam nāsmiṇ vapuṣi sukṛtam naiva dattam na bhuktam l
ittham caurair iva sa muṣitaś cintayaty eva duḥkhāt
saṃmūḍhānām anuśayaphalaḥ so 'vasādapramādaḥ || 18 ||***

l tasmin yāte la li ta ba ni tā puṣpa ballī bā sante
duṣkarmāpta dra bi ṇa tu la yā yau ba ne svasna kalpe l
l ((5)) naṣṭa śe ṣa pra kṛ ti ra khi laiḥ khe di traṃ gairbi raktai
rā dzya bhraṃ pe na bṛ ba i ba su khaṃ po tha śo tsa tya tī taṃ l

l las ṇan gyis¹³¹ thob nor dañ mtshuñs pas lañ tsho rmi lam du brtag¹³² pa l
l bud med 'jo [8] sgeg sos ka'i¹³³ me tog 'khri śiñ soñ ba de yi tshe l
l ((6)) yan lag ma lus skyo¹³⁴ žiñ chags dañ bral bas rañ bzin mtha' dag ñams l
l rgyal srid las ñams mi bdag bzin de de nas bde ba 'das [55a] pas gduñ l

***tasmin yāte lalitavanitāpuṣpavallīvasante
duṣkarmāptadraviṇatulayā yauvane svapnakalpe l
naṣṭāśeṣaprakṛtir akhilaiḥ kheditāṅgair viraktair
rājyabhraṃśe nṛpa iva sukhaṃ so 'tha śocaty atītaṃ || 19 ||***

l ā yurnī taṃ na tsa pa mu tsi taṃ yā tsa kā yo pa nī taṃ
nā pyunnī taṃ di śi di śi yā śaḥ satpa thaṃ na pra ((98b)) tī taṃ l
l prī taṃ yatsñā bi ṣa ma dhi ma taṃ sphī ta saṃ tā pa śī taṃ
bhī tāṃ pā bā ta ki ma pi na ma yā yatta de ba pra ṇe taṃ l

l bdag gi tshe btañ sloñ ba mams la yañ dag 'os pa'i sbyin ma btañ l
l phyogs phyogs dag¹³⁵ tu grags pa'an¹³⁶ ma bskrun legs pa'i lam ni ma ((98b)) rtogs
śiñ l

¹²⁹ la D, las P.

¹³⁰ kyi ñam P, kyis ñams D.

¹³¹ gyi P, gyis D.

¹³² brtag P, rtag D.

¹³³ so ga'i P, sos ka'i D.

¹³⁴ skyoñ P, skyo D.

¹³⁵ rab tu D, dag tu P.

¹³⁶ pa 'an P, pa 'an D.

l sloṇ ba'i [2] dug 'thuṇs tsha daṇ graṇ ba yoṇs su rgyas pa lhag par thob l
l sdig las ci yaṇ 'jigs par ma gyur gaṇ žig de ṇid kho na bgyis¹³⁷ l

***āyur nītaṃ na ca samucitaṃ yācakāyopanītaṃ
nāpy unnītaṃ diśi diśi yaśaḥ satpathaṃ na pratītaṃ
pītaṃ yācñāviṣaṃ adhigataṃ sphītaśamtāpaśītaṃ
bhītaṃ pāpāt kim api na mayā yat tad eva praṇītaṃ || 20 ||***

l kvā sau he ma dru ma ru tsi ha rā hā ri ṇī yau ba na śrī
kā yaḥ kvā yaṃ kṛ mi ha ta ta ru brā ya bi tstshā yā (3) pā kaḥ l
l dū rā de tāḥ pa ri kṛ ta dṛ śa kau na lī naṃ ta ru ṇyaḥ
śuṣkaṃ śī taṃ tu ra mi ba ba ne bā na raṃ mām ba danti l

l gser gyi¹³⁸ ljon pa'i 'od 'phrog yid 'phrog laṇ tsho'i dpal [3] ni¹³⁹ gaṇ na ste l
l smin žiṇ mdzes bral srin bus bcos pa'i śiṇ mtshuṇs lus (4) 'di ga la žig l
l na chuṇ 'di dag mig gis riṇ nas yoṇs spoṇ zur na žen gyur pa l
l bdag la nags kyi spre'u bskams¹⁴⁰ [4] śiṇ 'khyags pas 'khrugs pa bzin žes smras l

***kvāsau hemadrumaruciharā hāriṇī yauvanaśrīḥ
kāyaḥ kvāyaṃ kṛmihatataruprāyavicchāyapākāḥ l
dūrād etāḥ pariḥṭadṛśāḥ koṇalīnaṃ taruṇyaḥ
śuṣkaṃ śītaṃ tarum iva vane vānaraṃ mām vadanti || 21 ||***

l so yaṃ kā yaḥ śra ya ti bi la yaṃ ne ba mā yā ti kā ya
śrastāḥ sarbe da śa na ma ṇa yaste tsa (5) ke śā na do ṣāḥ l
l gā trotsā he pra ha ra ti ma run nai ba mo ha pra ro he
kṣī ṇa sye yaṃ śa ya na śa ra ṇa syā pi ṭṛṣṇā kṣa yā me l

l lus 'di nām par 'jig pa bsten te sgyu ma'i tshogs ni ma yin ṇid l
l so yi nor bu kun daṇ skra de lhuṇ ste skyon ni ma yin (6) ṇid l
l lus kyi brtson 'grus [5] rluṇ ni rab tu stor¹⁴¹ te gti mug myu gu min l
l mal stan la brkyaṇs¹⁴² zad par gyur kyaṇ bdag gi sred pa zad ma yin l

¹³⁷ gyis P, bgyis D.

¹³⁸ gyis P, gyi D.

¹³⁹ 'di P, ni D.

¹⁴⁰ skams P, bskams D.

¹⁴¹ rluṇ na rab tu star P, rluṇ ni rab tu stor D; der Text P scheint eine nachträglich geschnittzte und eingefügte Korrektur zu sein.

¹⁴² brkyaṇ P, brkyaṇs D.

***so 'yaṃ kāyaḥ śrayati vilayaṃ naiva māyānikāyaḥ
srastāḥ sarve daśanamaṇayas te ca keśāḥ na doṣāḥ |
gātrotsāhe praharati maruṇaṃ naiva mohaprarohe
kṣīṇasyeyam śayanaśaraṇasyāpi tṛṣṇākṣayā me || 22 ||***

| baṃ tsintye ti pra sṛ ta bi ṣa ma śvā sa hikkā di te pau
pa dya styaktum tsi ra pa ri ti tā mudya to lo ((99a)) ka yā traṃ |
| mū kī bhū taḥ sā dza na bi ra haṃ dhyā ya ti dhvasta dhairyaḥ
śakti tṣtshetā dṛ ṇa mi ba ma hat prāpta kā lo da ri draḥ |

| de ltar bsams nas mi bzad¹⁴³ dbugs brtsegs hig sogs rab tu rgyas gyur pas |
| 'di ni [[6]] yun rin 'dris pa'i 'jig rten spyod tshul 'phral ((2)) la gtoñ rtsom ste |
| lkugs gyur rañ gi skye bo dañ bral sems śiñ nus pa chad pa las |
| brtan pa¹⁴⁴ ñams gyur dus la bab pa dbul ba¹⁴⁵ bu lon chen po [[7]] bzin |

***saṃcintyeti prasṛtaviṣamaśvāsahikkā[r]dito (?) 'sau
sadyas tyaktum ciraparicitām udyato lokayātrām |
mūkībhūtaḥ svajanavirahaṃ dhyāyati dhvastadhairyaḥ
śakticchedād ṛṇam iva mahat prāptakālo daridraḥ || 23 ||***

| bhū miṃ ge hi ba su pa ri dza naṃ pu tra dā rā di tsā nya=
ntā battā batka la ya ti ((3)) dhi yā prā ṇā paryanta kā le |
| yā badzdzanma nya pi pu na ra tsau sne ha mo hā nu bandhai=
staistai rantaḥ kṛ ta pa ri tsa yastanma yī bhā pa me ti |

| re žig sa dañ khañ pa nor dañ g.yog 'khor bu dañ chuñ ma dañ |
| srog ni mthar thug dus su blo yis de ((4)) sñed gzan yañ bsams byas pa |
| ji srid skye ba la yañ 'di ni¹⁴⁶ slad nas chags rmoñs [[8]] 'chin ba dag |
| de des nañ du yoñs su 'dris byas de yi rañ bzin ño bor 'gro |

***bhūmiṃ gehaṃ vasu parijanaṃ putradārādi cānyat
tāvat tāvat kalayati dhiyā prāṇaparyantakāle |
yāvaj janmany api punar asau snehamohānubandhais
tais tair antaḥ kṛtaparicayas tanmayībhāvam eti || 24 ||***

| duḥ khaṃ duḥ sa ha pā pa karmma dza ni taṃ kumbhi sa ha prānta re

¹⁴³ zad P, bzad D.

¹⁴⁴ bstan pa DP. Die Vorlage hat dhairya- 'Festigkeit'.

¹⁴⁵ la P, ba D.

¹⁴⁶ ni P, ñid D.

bhūktva rau ra ba kā la sū tra ((5)) na ra ke ṣvā barta te yo ni ṣu |
 | yadbā pu ṇya ka nā rdzi taṃ su kha pa daṃ tad saṃ kṣa ye duḥ kha daṃ
 pā nā gā mi pha lapta ye bi ma la dhistasmāt sa mā dhī ya taṃ |

| zaṅs chen stoṅ phrag naṅ du sdig las kyis bskyed bzod par dka' ba'i sdug bsñal dag |
 | spyad nas nu 'bod thig ((6)) nag [[55b]] dmyal ba rnams kyī skyē gnas dag tu 'khor
 gyur ciñ |

| gañ yañ bsod nams chas bsgrubs bde ba'i gnas de yañ dag zad nas sdug bsñal
 ster¹⁴⁷ |

| de slad phyir mi 'on bcas 'bras thob slad du dri med [[2]] blo yis tiñ 'dzin mdzod |

***duḥkhaṃ duḥsahapāpakarmajanitaṃ kumbhīśahasrāntare
 bhuktvā rauravakālasūtranarakeṣv āvartate yoniṣu |
 yad vā puṇyakalārjitaṃ suhapadaṃ tat saṃkṣaye duḥkhadaṃ
 sānāgāmiphalāptaye vimaladhīś tasmāt samādhīyatām || 25 ||***

| i ti bhī ma bha bāṃ bho dhi santā ra ṇa kṛta ((99b)) pra taḥ |

| sa mā di de śa bha ga bān sa tvā nāṃ ku śa lāsta ye |

| sems can rnams kyī dge thob slad | | de skad srid pa'i chu gter ((2)) ni |

| 'jigs ruñ las sgrol brtul žugs mdzad | | bcom ldan 'das kyis yañ dag bsad¹⁴⁸ |

***iti bhīmabhavāmbhodhisam̐tāraṇakṛtavrataḥ |
 samādideśa bhagavān sattvānāṃ kuśalāptaye || 26 ||***

| i ti kṣe mendra bi ra tsi tā yāṃ bo dhi sa tva ba dā na kalpa la tā yāṃ garbha ba
 kranti da śa ma palla waḥ || ||

| ces¹⁴⁹ pa dge [[3]] ba'i dbaṅ pos byas pa'i byaṅ chub sems dpa'i rtogs pa brjod pa
 dpag bsam gyi 'khri śiñ las mñal nas 'byuñ ba bstan pa'i yal 'dab ste bcu pa'o || ||

**|| iti kṣemendraviracitāyāṃ Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatāyāṃ
 Garbhāvakrānti[nirdeśo nāma] daśamaḥ pallavaḥ ||**

¹⁴⁷ der P, ster D.

¹⁴⁸ gsuñs P, bsad D.

¹⁴⁹ žes P, ces D.

Selection and Evaluation of Āyurvedic Herbal Drugs which might be Useful in the Treatment of Malignant Swellings

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Although the origin of Āyurveda goes back to a far past, the practice of medicine in India has developed ever since. The aim of this article is not to describe Āyurvedic topics as they come to us through the vast corpus of classical literature, but to select herbal drugs as a lead for anti-tumour activity by means of careful observation and interpretation of the traditional system of medicine in Northern India, *as it is understood today*. For the sake of clarity, a limited view on Āyurveda has been chosen, which served our purpose. Other approaches are of course not excluded.

Introduction

In Āyurveda, all matter is thought to be composed of five *mahābhūtas*, namely *ākāśa*, *vāyu*, *tejas* or *agni*, *jala*, and *pr̥thivī*. The main constituents of the human body are *doṣas*, *dhātus* and *malas*, which are derivatives of these *pañcamahābhūtas*. *Doṣas* are physiological factors of the body and are categorised into *vāta*, *pitta* and *kapha*. *Vāta* is associated with movement, *pitta* with biotransformation and *kapha* with cohesion. These three *doṣas* determine the *prakṛti*, the constitution of an individual. The *dhātus* are seven in number: *rasa*, *rakta*, *māṃsa*, *medas*, *asthi*, *majjan* and *śukra*. The three main *malas* are urine, faeces and sweat.¹

For the burning and the transformation of the food in the body, there are thirteen *agnis*. One, the *jāṭharāgni*, is responsible for the digestion of nutritious substances. Digestion takes place in three stages: *madhurapāka*, *amlapāka*, and *katupāka*. Five *agnis*, the *pañcabhūtāgnis*, are responsible for the processing of the *pañcamahābhūtas*, each *agni* for a corresponding *bhūta*. Seven *dhātvagnis* are responsible for the transformation of each *dhātu* into the next one of the series. From the absorbed nutritious substance (*āhārarasa*), *rasadhātu* is produced first. From *rasa*, *rakta* is formed, then *māṃsa*, *medas*, *asthi*, *majjan* and *śukra* are produced successively (Sharma, P.V. 1976; Dash 1971, 66-77; 81-90; Singhal/Tripathi/Chaturvedi 1981, 233; Sharma, P.V. 1981-1985, vol. 2; Pandey 1987, 5-39; Dash 1989, 32-37).

Under normal conditions, the *doṣas*, *dhātus* and *malas* correspond to certain standards with regard to their quantities, qualities and functions. However, this situation is not static, and due to several endogenous and exogenous fac-

¹ We have dispensed with also giving the common synonyms of the Sanskrit expressions cited above.

tors, the *doṣas* may become unbalanced, resulting in disease. Every disease is related to an imbalance of the *doṣas* (Srikantha Murthy 1987, 16f.; 42-44).

There are said to be six cognisable entities in Āyurveda (*padārthas*), namely: *dravya*, *guṇa*, *karman*, *sāmānya*, *viśeṣa* and *samavāya*. All *dravyas* are composed of the *pañcamahābhūtas* and are cognised through *guṇa* and *karman*, which are inherent in *dravya*. *Guṇa* is the property of a drug with regard to the body. There are forty-one *guṇas*, but usually twenty are used, grouped in ten pairs, one *guṇa* being opposite another (fig.1). Apart from these

<i>mahābhūta</i>	<i>guṇa</i>	<i>guṇa</i>	<i>mahābhūta</i>
<i>pr̥thivī, jala</i>	<i>guru</i>	<i>laghu</i>	<i>tejas/agni, vāyu, ākāśa</i>
<i>jala</i>	<i>śīta</i>	<i>uṣṇa</i>	<i>tejas/agni</i>
<i>jala</i>	<i>snigdha</i>	<i>rūkṣa</i>	<i>pr̥thivī, tejas/agni, vāyu</i>
<i>pr̥thivī, jala</i>	<i>manda</i>	<i>tīkṣṇa</i>	<i>tejas/agni</i>
<i>pr̥thivī</i>	<i>sthira</i>	<i>sara</i>	<i>vāyu</i>
<i>jala, ākāśa</i>	<i>mṛdu</i>	<i>kāṭhina</i>	<i>pr̥thivī</i>
<i>pr̥thivī, tejas/agni, vāyu, ākāśa</i>	<i>viśada</i>	<i>picchila</i>	<i>jala</i>
<i>tejas/agni</i>	<i>ślakṣṇa</i>	<i>khara</i>	<i>vāyu</i>
<i>tejas/agni, vāyu, ākāśa</i>	<i>sūkṣma</i>	<i>sthūla</i>	<i>pr̥thivī</i>
<i>pr̥thivī</i>	<i>sāndra</i>	<i>drava</i>	<i>jala</i>

Figure 1
The 20 *guṇas* with their *mahābhūta* composition according to Sharma, P.V. 1976, p. 46

guṇas, there are other properties of *dravya*, which are: *rasa*, *vipāka*, *vīrya*, and *prabhāva*. *Rasa* is the taste of a drug. There are six *rasas*: *madhura*, *lavaṇa*, *amla*, *kaṭu*, *tikta* and *kaṣāya*. Each *rasa* is composed of two of the five *mahā-bhūtas*. *Vipāka*, the state of the ingested material after digestion, is generally *madhura*, *amla* or *kaṭu*. The *vīrya* of a drug is one of the factors responsible for its action, and is expressed in terms of the strongest *guṇas*, e.g. *uṣṇa vīrya*. *Prabhāva* is the specific property which can not be explained by *guṇa*, *rasa*, *vipāka* and *vīrya*. *Karman* is the action of a drug on the body and can be *saṃśodhana* or *saṃśamana*. *Karman* can also be expressed in terms of the three *doṣas* (Sharma, P.V. 1976, 3-67; Singhal/Chunekar 1982, 175-208).

Arbuda²

In the classical sources of Āyurveda, equivalents to the modern denomination 'cancer' are not found. However, some diseases are described which might be associated with tumours. One of these diseases is *arbuda*. Monier-Williams 1990 translates this as 'swelling, tumour, polypus'. It describes the clinical state of a disease which is associated with local swelling. Although several diseases meet this clinical description (e.g. inflammatory diseases and warts), neoplasms might be among them.

An *arbuda* is said to have a big size and a round shape, to be immovable and deep-seated, and to grow slowly. The swelling is experienced as slightly painful and seldom suppurating (Ca,Ci 12,87; Su,Ni 11,13-15a;21). Several types of *arbuda* are mentioned in the Āyurvedic literature. Usually they are classified according to their origin, e.g.: *vātaja*, *pittaja* and *kaphaja arbuda* from vitiated *doṣas*; *raktaja*, *māṃsaja* and *medoja arbuda* from vitiated *dhātus* (Su,Ni 11,14b). Furthermore, *arbudas* which arise in specific organs are mentioned, e.g.: *netrārbuda*: eye (Su,Ut 3,24), *karnārbuda*: ear (Su,Ut 20,5;16b,c), *nāsārbuda*: nose (Ca,Ci 26,109a; Su,Ut 22,19a), *tālvarbuda*: palate (Su,Ni 16,44) and *liṅgārbuda*: penis (Su,Ni 14,14a).

Another disease which might be associated partly with tumours is *gulma* (Ca,Ci 5), which is translated by Monier-Williams 1990 as 'a chronic enlargement of the spleen or any glandular enlargement in the abdomen'. Other diseases associated with swelling are: *śoṭha* (Ca,Sū 18), *plīhodara* (Ca,Ci 13,37), *yakṛddālyudara* (Su,Ni 7,16), *kacchapa* (Su,Ni 16,43a), *kaṇṭhaśālūka* (Su,Ni 16,51), *gilāyu* (Su,Ni 16,58), *śataghñī* (Su,Ni 16,57), *pratyaṣṭhīlā* (Su,Ni 1,91), *vātāṣṭhīlā* (Su,Ni 1,90), *karnīnī* (Su,Ut 38,15b) and *kākaṇaka kuṣṭha*

² References to Ca, Su and Ah are taken from Sharma, P.V. 1981-1985, Singhal 1981-1982, and Srikantha Murthy 1991-1992, respectively.

(Ca,Ci 7,20) (Bajracharya 1987).

Pathogenesis

In Āyurveda the course of every disease is described in a general model. Such a model is based on the changes in the *doṣa*-balance and the subsequent consequences. The process of pathogenesis of *arbuda* can be described likewise. Except for the *doṣas*, the metabolic processes as such also play an important role (fig.2).

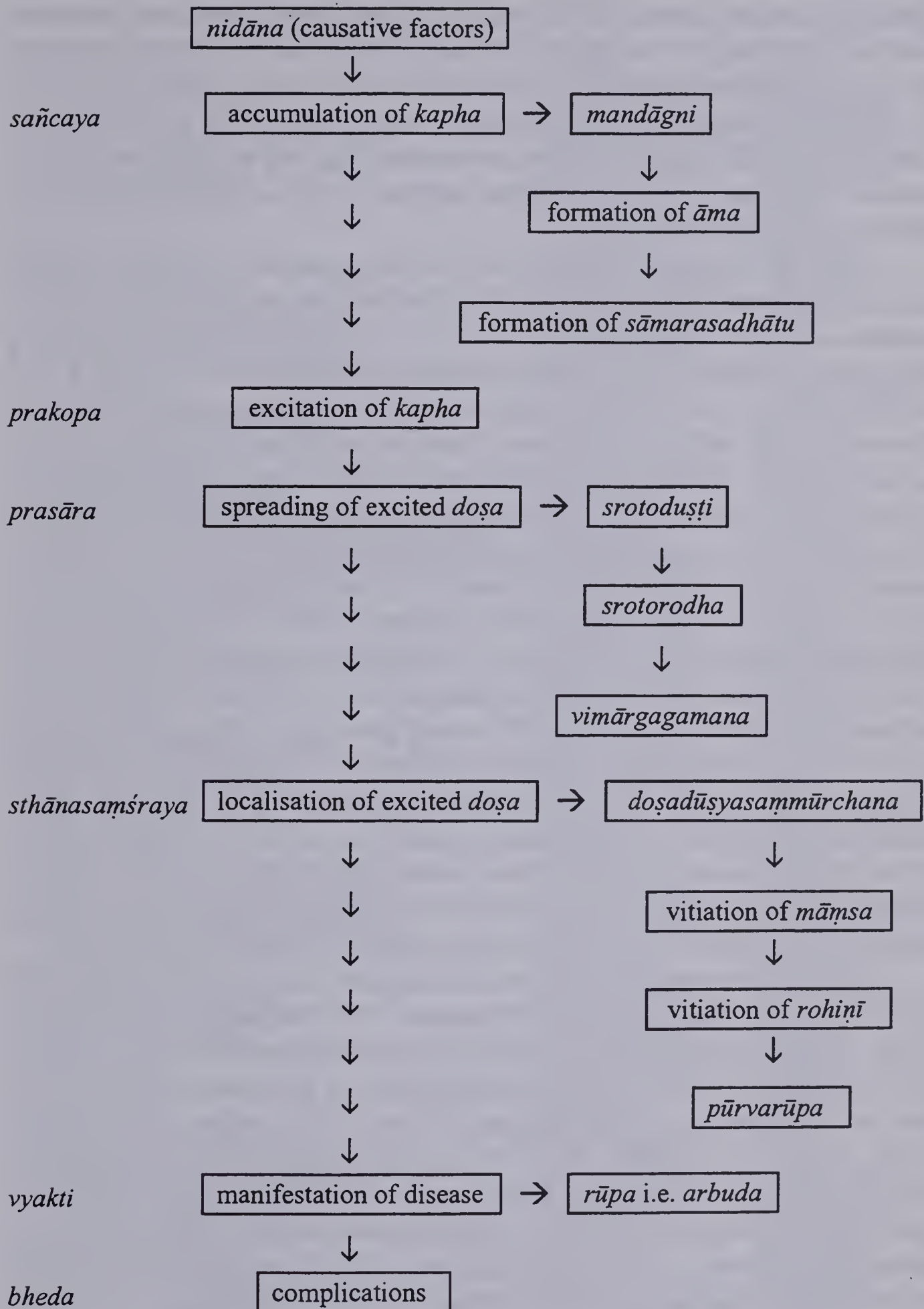
By means of several causative factors, for example, heavy and unctuous food, *kapha* can be aggravated (Su,Sū 21,23). This affects the *jāṭharāgni* and causes *mandāgni* (Ah,Śā 3,73;76). In the case of *mandāgni* the food is not digested properly and *āma* is formed by the mixing of aggravated *doṣas*. This affects the *dhātus* in such a way that changes in their qualities occur, and they become vitiated. Another explanation is that, because of *mandāgni*, the first *dhātu*, *rasa*, is not formed properly, becomes vitiated and accumulates. This is known as *āma* (Ah,Sū 13,25-27).

During the circulation of vitiated *rasa* and vitiated *doṣas* through the body, all kinds of pathological processes can take place. The body-channels can become obstructed (*srotorodha*) (Ca,Ci 15,37). If a *srotas* is completely blocked, the *rasa* and the vitiated *doṣas* might follow an alternative route (*vimārgagamana*). Furthermore, the *rasa* and the vitiated *doṣas* will get obstructed through abnormalities of the *srotas* of the *dhātus* and will not be able to reach the *dhātus* (Su,Sū 24,10).

All these pathological factors, i.e. vitiated *doṣas*, vitiated *dhātus*, malfunctioning of *agnis*, formation of *āma*, will lead to a disturbed transformation of the *dhātus*, especially in the *rakta*, *māṃsa* and the *medas* (Su,Ni 11,13a). Because the *māṃsa* nourishes the skin (Ca,Ci 15,17), a pathogenic defect of the muscular tissue might result in the injury of the *rohini*, the sixth layer of the skin. If this process continues, it might result in the formation of an *arbuda* (Su,Śā 4,4). *Adhyarbuda* and *dvirarbuda* can also occur (Su,Ni 11,20). Eventually, this can lead to the death of the patient (Dwarakanatha 1986; Bajracharya 1987, 8-10).

Material and Methods

The objective of this research project was to find out which Āyurvedic plants can be used as a lead for anti-tumour activity. To achieve this, the general model for the pathogenesis of *arbuda*, described above, was used to form criteria for the selection of plants from a list of herbal drugs which are used in Āyurveda. This list was prepared from literature. In this study the

**Figure 2**Model of pathogenesis of *arbuda* according to Āyurveda

generally accepted identity of the traditional plant names mentioned in literature was used (Singh/Chunekar 1972; Vaidya 1982). This identification might be open to question in certain cases (Labadie 1984; Labadie 1986). However, the selected plants which were available were collected and their botanical identity was authenticated by three independent experts, as mentioned in the section 'Collection' on p.121. Fifteen samples of the collected plants were tested for cytotoxicity *in vitro*.

With the described general model of pathogenesis of *arbuda* in mind (fig.2), two factors for general treatment of *arbuda* are proposed. Firstly, consolidation of *agni* is essential (Ca,Ci 15,34). All *agnis* are regulated by *pitta*; when *pitta* increases, *agni* will also increase. Secondly, there should be a decrease in *kapha* (Su,Ni 11,21). *Kapha* and *vāta* are counter-productive: an increase in *vāta* will decrease *kapha*. Therefore, *pitta* and *vāta* were selected as main criteria. To know which plants match these criteria, those *guṇas* that increase *pitta* and *vāta* were selected. Focusing on the *mahābhūta* composition of the drug, those drugs displaying *tejas/agni*-properties are given the highest priority, for they increase *pitta*, followed by those displaying properties of *vāyu* and *ākāśa*, for they increase *vāta*. Furthermore, those drugs being *kaṭu* in taste (*rasa*) increase both *pitta* and *vāta*. These drugs generally are *kaṭu* in *vi-pāka* also. Drugs which are *madhura*, *amla* and *lavaṇa* in their *rasa* should not be used, for they increase *kapha*. The twenty *guṇas* were categorised according to their proposed priority in treatment of *arbuda*. Drugs with the properties *laghu* and *sūkṣma* can be used, because they increase both *pitta* and *vāta*. Drugs with *tīkṣṇa* and *uṣṇa* properties can also be used, for they increase *pitta*. However, drugs which are *guru*, *sthūla*, *manda*, *śīta*, *picchila*, *snigdha*, *sthira*, *kaṭhina* and *sāndra* in their *guṇa* should not be used, because they increase *kapha* and therefore promote *arbuda*. The *vīrya* of the drug should be *uṣṇa*.

With these criteria, we made a selection from a list of nearly 500 plant species, used in Āyurveda (Singh/Chunekar 1972; Satyavati/Raina/Sharma 1976; Vaidya 1982; Ojha/Mishra 1985; Satyavati/Gupta/Tandon 1987; Dash 1991; Sharma, P.V. 1992). From the resulting list of 100 species, those which are used traditionally in the treatment of cancer (Manandhar 1980; Malla 1984; Sharma, P.V. 1986; Jain 1991; Jain/DeFillips,1991; Kirtikar/Basu 1991), and species which were shown previously to have cytotoxic or cytostatic activity (Hegnauer 1962-1990; Dhar/Dhawan/Prasad/Rastogi 1974; Ambasta 1986; Malhotra 1990; Rastogi/Mehrotra, 1990; Rastogi/Mehrotra, 1991) were selected, yielding a list of the following forty-four species:

Botanical name	Family	Sanskrit name
<i>Acorus calamus</i> L.	Araceae	<i>vacā</i>
<i>Alpinia galanga</i> Willd.	Zingiberaceae	<i>malayavacā</i>
<i>Anamirta cocculus</i> Wight. & Arn.	Menispermaceae	<i>garalaphala</i>
<i>Argemone mexicana</i> L.	Papaveraceae	<i>svarṇakṣīrī</i>
<i>Aristolochia indica</i> L.	Aristolochiaceae	<i>īśvarī</i>
<i>Basella rubra</i> L.	Basellaceae	<i>upodikā</i>
<i>Bauhinia variegata</i> L.	Caesalpiniaceae	<i>kāñcanāra</i>
<i>Calotropis gigantea</i> (L.) R. Br.	Asclepiadaceae	<i>alarka</i>
<i>Calotropis procera</i> (Ait.) R.Br.	Asclepiadaceae	<i>arka</i>
<i>Carica papaya</i> L.	Caricaceae	<i>eraṇḍakarkaṭī</i>
<i>Carum roxburghianum</i> Kurz.	Apiaceae	<i>ajamodā</i>
<i>Cleome gynandra</i> L.	Capparidaceae	<i>tilaparṇī</i>
<i>Colchicum luteum</i> Baker	Liliaceae	<i>surāñjana</i>
<i>Commiphora mukul</i> (Hook. ex Stocks) Engl.	Burseraceae	<i>guggulu</i>
<i>Corallocarpus epigaeus</i> Benth. ex Hook.f.	Cucurbitaceae	<i>śukanāsā</i>
<i>Crataeva nurvala</i> Buch.-Ham.	Capparidaceae	<i>varuṇa</i>
<i>Curcuma longa</i> L.	Zingiberaceae	<i>haridrā</i>
<i>Curcuma zedoaria</i> Rosc.	Zingiberaceae	<i>karcūra</i>
<i>Datura metel</i> L.	Solanaceae	<i>dhattūra</i>
<i>Delphinium denudatum</i> Wall.	Ranunculaceae	<i>nirviṣā</i>
<i>Euphorbia neriifolia</i> L.	Euphorbiaceae	<i>snuhī</i>
<i>Ficus hispida</i> L.f.	Moraceae	<i>kākodumbara</i>
<i>Gloriosa superba</i> L.	Liliaceae	<i>lāṅgalī</i>
<i>Lagenaria siceraria</i> (Mol.) Standl.	Cucurbitaceae	<i>ikṣvāku</i>
<i>Mallotus philippinensis</i> Muell.Arg.	Euphorbiaceae	<i>kampillaka</i>
<i>Melia azedarach</i> L.	Meliaceae	<i>mahānimba</i>
<i>Moringa oleifera</i> Lamk.	Moringaceae	<i>śobhāñjana</i>
<i>Nerium indicum</i> Mill.	Apocynaceae	<i>karavīra</i>
<i>Nigella sativa</i> L.	Ranunculaceae	<i>kālājājī</i>
<i>Piper betle</i> L.	Piperaceae	<i>tāmbūla</i>
<i>Plumbago zeylanica</i> L.	Plumbaginaceae	<i>citraka</i>
<i>Podophyllum hexandrum</i> Royle	Berberidaceae	<i>vanatrapuṣī</i>
<i>Polyalthia longifolia</i> Thw.	Annonaceae	<i>kāṣṭhadāru</i>
<i>Randia uliginosa</i> DC.	Rubiaceae	<i>piṇḍītaka</i>
<i>Rhinacanthus nasutus</i> (L.) Kurz.	Acanthaceae	<i>yūthiparṇī</i>
<i>Salvinia cucullata</i> Roxb.	Salviniaceae	<i>ākhukarṇī</i>
<i>Scindapsus officinalis</i> (Roxb.) Schott.	Araceae	<i>gajapippalī</i>
<i>Semecarpus anacardium</i> L.f.	Anacardiaceae	<i>bhallātaka</i>

<i>Solanum indicum</i> L.	Solanaceae	<i>br̥hatī</i>
<i>Solanum xanthocarpum</i> Schrad. & Wendl.	Solanaceae	<i>kaṇṭakārī</i>
<i>Sphaeranthus indicus</i> L.	Asteraceae	<i>muṇḍī</i>
<i>Streblus asper</i> Lour.	Moraceae	<i>śākhoṭa</i>
<i>Urginea indica</i> Kunth.	Liliaceae	<i>vanapalāṇḍu</i>
<i>Vitex negundo</i> L.	Verbenaceae	<i>nirguṇḍī</i>

Collection

For the collection of the selected plant species, several botanical excursions were undertaken in Kumaon District, Uttar Pradesh, India and Helambu Area, Central Nepal. The methodology used was as follows:

- ☐ selection of the plant,
- ☐ global identification of the plant,
- ☐ global and detailed photography of the plant and its parts for later identification,
- ☐ collection of plant material for the herbarium and for experimental purposes.

In the base camp, the collected plants were identified further with the help of local floras (Brandis 1972; Malla/Shrestha/Rajbhandari 1973; Malla 1976; Malla 1984; Malla 1986; Osmaston 1978; Manandhar 1980; Uniyal 1989; Hooker 1990; Naithani 1990; Polunin/Stainton 1990; Stainton 1990; Kirtikar/Basu 1991), and dried in the mild sun.

In this way, only some of the selected species could be collected, because of the difficulty of finding specific species, the restriction to seasons in which species could be identified and collected, and the limited amount of available plant material. To overcome these problems, some dried species were obtained from herb markets at Kathmandu and Pathan, both in Nepal, and at Varanasi, India. Rhizomes of *Acorus calamus* L., fruits of *Datura metel* L., stems of *Plumbago zeylanica* L., fruits of *Semecarpus anacardium* L.f., and fruits of *Solanum indicum* L. were obtained from the herb market at Kathmandu; rhizomes of *Curcuma zedoaria* Rosc. were obtained from the herb market at Pathan; and flowers of *Calotropis procera* (Ait.) R.Br., fruits of *Melia azedarach* L., roots of *Plumbago zeylanica* L., fruits of *Scindapsus officinalis* Schott., and flowers of *Sphaeranthus indicus* L. were obtained from the herb market at Varanasi. At the campus of the Banaras Hindu University at Varanasi, the bark of *Moringa oleifera* Lam. was collected and dried. Finally, glands of *Mallotus philippinensis* Muell.Arg., and fruits of *Solanum xanthocarpum* Schrad. & Wendl. were obtained from Gorkha Ayurved Company, Gorkha, Nepal. These herbs were destined for the production of Āyurvedic medicines, and appeared to be of good quality. However, when herbs are ob-

tained from the market, other problems arise. The identification of the plant material is more difficult, the material is not fresh, and sometimes of inferior quality. Also, substitution and contamination may appear (Labadie 1984; Labadie 1986). To cope with these problems, every collection was guided by an expert of the local flora. More plant species were collected, but only fifteen simplices were of good quality and available in sufficient quantity. The identity of the plants was authenticated by Mr. R.H. Subedi, Gorkha Ayurved Company, Kathmandu, Nepal, Dr. R.R. Koirala, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, India, and Dr. M.R. Uniyal, Central Council for Research in Āyurveda and Siddha, New Delhi, India. Voucher specimens are deposited at the Department of Pharmacognosy, University of Utrecht, Netherlands.

Botanical name	Part	IC ₅₀ (µg/ml)
<i>Acorus calamus</i> L.	rhizoma	> 100
<i>Calotropis procera</i> (Ait.) R.Br.	flos	< 10
<i>Curcuma zedoaria</i> Rosc.	rhizoma	> 100
<i>Datura metel</i> L.	fructus	> 100
<i>Mallotus philippinensis</i> Muell.Arg	glandula	10 – 100
<i>Melia azedarach</i> L.	fructus	10 – 100
<i>Moringa oleifera</i> Lam.	cortex	> 100
<i>Plumbago zeylanica</i> L.	stipes	> 100
<i>Plumbago zeylanica</i> L.	radix	10 – 100
<i>Scindapsus officinalis</i> Schott	fructus	10 – 100
<i>Semecarpus anacardium</i> L.f.	fructus	< 10
<i>Solanum indicum</i> L.	fructus	> 100
<i>Solanum xanthocarpum</i> Schrad. & Wendl.	fructus	10 – 100
<i>Sphaeranthus indicus</i> L.	flos	10 – 100
<i>Vitex negundo</i> L.	folium	> 100
cisplatin		< 10

Figure 3
Cytotoxicity of the extracts of selected plants and the reference compound cisplatin against COLO 320 tumour cells

Research

The dried material of fourteen plant species³ (fig.3) was ground and extracted

³ Two simplices were obtained from the same species (*Plumbago zeylanica* L.).

with 70% ethanol (v/v) using Soxhlet extraction. The extracts were dried, dissolved in ethanol 96%, and diluted in a concentration range. The cytotoxicity of the samples was tested against COLO 320, a human colorectal carcinoma cell line, using the MTT assay (Carmichael/De Graff/Gazdar/Minna/Mitchell 1987). The cell growth inhibition was calculated and the IC_{50} value, the drug concentration causing 50% growth inhibition of the tumour cells, was used as a parameter for cytotoxicity (Smit/Woerdenbag/Singh/Meulenbeld/Labadie/Zwaving 1995).

Results

The forty-four Āyurvedic plants with potential anti-cancer properties, selected as described in the section 'Material and Methods', are listed on pp. 119f. From this list, the material of fourteen plants could be collected in India and Nepal. In fig.3 the results of the cytotoxicity tests of the extracts from parts of these fourteen plants are given (Smit/Woerdenbag/Singh/Meulenbeld/Labadie/Zwaving 1995).

Discussion and Conclusion

The extracts were prepared with 70% (v/v) ethanol. Although not all possible cytotoxic compounds will be extracted by this method, it might give a representative sample of the plant because a rather broad range of constituents from apolar to polar are extracted with this solvent. Extracts of the flowers of *Calotropis procera* (Ait.) R.Br. and the nuts of *Semecarpus anacardium* L.f. displayed the strongest cytotoxic effect, with IC_{50} values $< 10 \mu\text{g/ml}$. Extracts of several other investigated plants, however, did not show a cytotoxic effect up to $100 \mu\text{g/ml}$, the highest concentration tested.

In previous experiments with *C. procera*, extracts of the roots and the leaves showed cytotoxic activity against human epidermal nasopharynx carcinoma (Ayoub/Kingston 1981). The cardenolide calotropin was shown to be responsible for this activity (Kupchan/Knox/Kelsey/Renauld 1964).

The cytostatic activity of extracts of *S. anacardium* has also been described in literature. In one experiment the chloroform extract of the nuts showed an activity of 150% T/C in a P388 test system in mice, at a dose of 50 mg/kg (Gothoskar/Chitnis/Adwankar/Ranadvie 1971). In another study a fraction of the aqueous methanolic extract of the nuts was tested on Eagles 9KB nasopharynx carcinoma cell cultures, yielding an IC_{50} value of $2.3 \mu\text{ml}$. This fraction consisted mainly of pentadecylcatechols. These pentadecylcatechols, however, showed no activity on *in vivo* P388 leukaemia tests in mice, up to a dose of 80 mg/ml (Hembree/Chang/McLaughlin/Peck/Cassady 1978).

As for the other plants tested, limited data on cytotoxicity were found in the literature. Chloroform soluble and insoluble fractions of ethanolic extracts of the whole plant of *Solanum indicum* L. showed cytotoxicity on seven cancer cell lines: COLO-205 (colon), KB (nasopharynx), HeLa (uterine cervix), HA22T (hepatoma), Hep-2 (laryngeal epidermoid), GBM8401/TSGH (glioma), H1477 (melanoma). The purified constituents dioscin and methyl protodioscin showed more potent effects by DEA and MTT assay. Dioscin, methyl protoprosapogenin A of dioscin, methyl protodioscin and protodioscin demonstrated cytotoxicity on cultured C6 glioma cells by PRE assay, and methyl protoprosapogenin A of dioscin, methyl protodioscin and protodioscin showed a tumour inhibitory effect *in vivo* in C6 glioma cells. In addition, dioscin showed an inhibitory effect on the DNA synthesis of C6 glioma cells (Chiang/Tseng/Wang/Chen/Kan 1991).

In a two-year study on rats in which the essential oil of the 'Jammu' variety of *Acorus calamus* L. was given to twenty-five male rats and twenty-five female rats at dietary levels of 0, 500, 1000, 2500 and 5000 ppm, malignant tumours were noted initially after fifty-nine weeks in the duodenal regions of the rats at all levels. Tumours of the same type were not seen in the controls. The oil of the Jammu Calamus, prepared by steam distillation from the rhizomes, contains 75.8% β -asaron, which was shown to be a carcinogenic compound (Taylor/Jones/Hagan/Gross/Davis/Cook 1967; Stahl/Keller 1981).

Anti-cancer and anti-mitotic activity has been reported of plumbagin, the most abundant active principle in the rhizomes of *Plumbago zeylanica* L. It was shown that plumbagin regresses fibrosarcoma induced by methyl cholanthrene by 70% when given intratumour at a dosage of 2 mg/kg bodyweight in rats (Purushothaman/Mohana/Susan 1983).

Our method using data from Āyurveda was shown to provide possible new leads for products which might be useful for the treatment of cancer. Further research on the cytostatic activity of the most active plants, *Calotropis procera* (Ait.) R.Br. and *Semecarpus anacardium* L.f. seems interesting. In addition, a more detailed investigation focused on the active compounds is of interest for their molecular nature as well as their mechanisms of action. With the MTT-assay, only a direct toxic effect on the cell can be demonstrated. If the cytotoxic effect is established via an indirect pathway (e.g. by means of the immune system), this is not revealed through the MTT-assay.

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Abbreviations

Ah	<i>Aṣṭāṅgahr̥daya</i>	Śā	Śārīrasthāna
Ca	<i>Carakasam̐hitā</i>	Su	<i>Suśrutasaṃhitā</i>
Ci	<i>Cikitsāsthāna/Cikitsitasthāna</i>	Sū	<i>Sūtrasthāna</i>
Ni	<i>Nidānasthāna</i>	Ut	<i>Uttarasthāna/Uttaratantra</i>

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Summary

According to Āyurveda, food and drugs are composed of five basic elements, the *pañcamahābhūtas*. Their properties and qualities are expressed in *rasa*, *vipāka*, *guṇa*, *vīrya*, *prabhāva* and *karman*. In the research programme described in this article, an inventory of Āyurvedic herbal drugs was made, along with their properties and qualities. From this list, we aimed to select plants that would serve as a lead for possible anti-tumour activity. To achieve this, in translation the basic Āyurvedic literature (*Carakasamhitā*, *Suśrutasamhitā* and *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*) was reviewed for any lead to malignant growths. One syndrome, *arbuda*, which means 'swelling', was selected to serve as a lead towards possible cancerous diseases. According to the Āyurvedic literature, a model for the pathogenesis of *arbuda* was made. Based on this, selection criteria were formed; these were used to select plants from the list of Āyurvedic herbal drugs. Some of the selected plant species could be collected in India and Nepal. The dried material of fourteen plants was subjected to ethanol (70% v/v) extraction and the extracts were tested for cytotoxicity against COLO 320 tumour cells, using the microculture tetrazolium (MTT) assay. The IC_{50} value – the concentration causing 50% growth inhibition of the tumour cells – was used as a parameter for cytotoxicity. Extracts of the flowers of *Calotropis procera* (Ait.) R.Br. (Asclepiadaceae) and of the nuts of *Semecarpus anacardium* L.f. (Anacardiaceae), displayed the strongest cytotoxic effect with IC_{50} values $< 10 \mu\text{g/ml}$. The extracts of several other plants however, did not show any cytotoxic effect up to $100 \mu\text{g/ml}$, the highest concentration tested.

On Mercury in Tibetan ‘Precious Pills’

JÜRGEN CHRISTOPH ASCHOFF
in collaboration with
TASHI YANGPHEL TASHIGANG

Introduction

Mercury as a metal (Tib. *dnul chu*) or as cinnabar (mercuric sulfide, HgS; Tib. *rgya m’chal* or *cog la ma*) is an ancient medicine used in traditional Chinese, Ayurvedic and Tibetan systems of healing. Already in the *rGyud b’zi*, the fundamental text of the Tibetan medical tradition and one of the oldest Tibetan books on medicine, in use from the twelfth century onwards, the therapeutic aspects of mercury are mentioned, in concurrence with earlier Chinese and Ayurvedic texts, as being valuable – when taken internally – in the treatment of illnesses of the nervous system. It is supposed to be generally stimulating and balancing as well as helpful for healing bone fractures.

The art of using mercury as a medicine was always connected with a complex and time-consuming process as it had to be specially prepared for medical purposes. The Tibetan scholar and yogin Ogyen Rinchenpal (Tib. ‘*O-rgyan-pa Rin-chen-dpal*¹) brought to Tibet from his journeys to Northern India (Udyana/Swat) the art of preparing mercury for medicinal use. Under the Third Karmapa (1284-1339) this knowledge was utilised for the first time in Tibet to produce the ‘black pills’ (*rin-chen ril-nag*) which were subsequently called ‘Karmapa black pills’ in reference to the Karmapa’s insignia, his black crown (or hat). An excellent and critical overview of Tibetan texts dealing with the preparation of mercury medications was published by Dr. Yonten Gyatso from the Research Department of the Tibetan Medical & Astro-Institute in Dharamsala.²

¹ 1229-1309; alternative life-data 1203-1309, or 1230-1303.

² ‘The Secrets of the Black Pill Formulation’, *Tibetan Medicine* 13, Dharamsala 1991, 38-55. The author states (p. 38) that ‘the preparation of this precious pill, known as “Precious Black Pill” (*Rin-chen ril-nag*), is the highest form of pharmacological practice in Tibetan Medicine. It involves a wide range of techniques which require patience, precision and utmost care. In this formulation the most important and complicated part is the preparation of *btso-thal*, a mixture of refined and detoxified powders of mercury, eight metals and eight rock minerals which are themselves processed individually with specific techniques. This powder is the basic compound to which various other ingredients are added. There are other kinds of precious pills, namely *rat-na bsam-’phel*, *btso-bkru zla-shel* and *mang-sbyor chen-mo*, to which *btso-thal* is added but these have fewer ingredients. There were other forms of mercury formulation prevalent in Tibet before the advent of the *btso-thal* practice. They are less com-

Along with the knowledge of the medical use of mercury, the medicinal use of 'jewels' (like gold, silver, gems, corals, as well as pearls and shells) was also brought to Tibet: these substances were combined in medicines generally known as 'precious medicines' or 'jewel pills'. Most of them also contain mercury in different forms. There are some 25 to 30 well-known formulations of jewel pills, but not all of them contain mercury. On the other hand mercury is used in certain 'non-precious' medicines as well.

Precious pills consist of various mixtures of between twenty and over one hundred ingredients of medicinal plants, animal and mineral products and 'precious' substances as listed above. The 'jewel pill' Byu-dmar (pronounced *dchou-mar*) 25 (Tib.: *Byu dmar 25*) has been under special analysis with particular focus on its use as a prophylactic pill against migraine attacks. Mercury as one of its ingredients was investigated to some extent prior to the administration of the pill to our patients.

Mercury-containing Byu-dmar 25: Diseases Cured and Side-effects

If one buys Byu-dmar 25 in a Tibetan pharmacy in Delhi, Ladakh, Lhasa or Dharamsala, along with the medicine one often receives a bilingual brochure in English and Tibetan (or Chinese in Lhasa) published by the Tibetan Medical & Astro-Institute in Dharamsala, which states that the use of this particular medicine goes back to Tenzin Phuntsok (*Dehu-dmar bsTan-hjin*

plicated. The simpler and less celebrated method of mercury formulation is taught in the Tibetan medical text (rGyud-bzhi), which devotes a detailed chapter to this. The time and origin of this text, despite being shrouded in mystery, undoubtedly predates the btso-thal practice. The btso-thal practice came to Tibet in 13th century. It was brought by O-rgyan-pa rin-chen-dpal (1230-1303) who is said to have received its instructions from Vajra dakinis and he passed it on to Karma-pa rang-byung rdo-rje, the 3rd Karma-pa (1284-1339), and transmission of the instruction from master to disciple carried on uninterruptedly, and it then came to Zur-mkhar mnyam-nyid rdo-rje (1439-1475) over one hundred years after the death of Karma-pa rang-byung rdo-rje. Zur-mkhar mnyam-nyid rdo-rje, the founder of Zur tradition (Zur-lugs) which was one of the two main medical traditions that evolved in 15th century, is one of the greatest exponents in the history of Tibetan Medicine. Since he was one of the earliest in the lineage of instruction in Black Pill formulation, it is tempting to believe his claim, that his text, "Eternal Gem for the Clear Revelation of the Secrets of the Black Pill Formulation" (ril-nag gsang-ston gsal-byed 'chi-med nor-bu) is the first written instruction on the Precious Black Pill formulation. I regard myself fortunate to have been entrusted with the task of translating this text. The translation is from the text found in Rin-chen dngul-chu sbyor-sde phyogs-bsdebs (Collected Works on Mercury Formulation), published by the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala, 1986, ff. 1-20. It can also be found in Zur-mkhar mnyam-nyid rdo-rje's Man-ngag bye-ba ring-bsrel (his Collected Works), published by three different publishers from different editions.'

phun-čhogs, born 1672), who tried it on himself and saved himself from a fatal illness. He himself was a famous Tibetan doctor practising in the early decades of the eighteenth century. His medical books, still well acknowledged even today, were originally printed in the monastery of Derge (Eastern Tibet).

I will not go into detail about the other twenty-four substances in Byu-dmar 25, although these ingredients offer interesting and important information regarding its possible use in Western medicine. This part will be published separately,³ especially our research on the most important ingredient in this jewel pill: aconitum. For now I will comment only on the mercury.

Amchi T. Y. Tashigang,⁴ collaborator on this article, reported in several sessions about his experiences with mercury-containing medicines made by him, particularly Byu-dmar 25: this jewel pill is commonly used by him to treat nervous illnesses of all kinds – even epilepsy – and also chronic recurring headaches caused by an imbalance of ‘wind’ (Tib. *rlun*) and ‘phlegm’ (Tib. *bad-kan*). He never has observed the typical side-effects of mercury intoxication reported in Western medicine, i.e. agitation, insomnia or tremors, in patients who had taken doses of one to two pills per day or two to three pills per week, over a period of several months or even years.

However, Amchi Tashigang did point out that he, like other Tibetan doctors, until recently never made written records of his patients or systematic studies of treatments, and that the use of mercury as well as Tibetan medicine in general have remained rather static over the past centuries and mainly unaltered by any modern influence.

The Indian Origin of Mercury Pills

The use of cinnabar (i.e. mercuric sulphide, HgS) in Byu-dmar 25 is identical in both Ayurvedic and Tibetan medicine. In the Ayurvedic system of Indian medicine today, mercury is perhaps the most important substance for maintaining good health and for the treatment of many different nervous disorders. In an eight-stage preparatory process, mercury is purified by degrees by various different processes. The whole complex of physical/ chemical and philosophical concepts dealing with mercury (as well as with other metals and

³ Jürgen C. Aschoff, Thies Peters, T.Y. Tashigang, N. Batth, ‘Tibetan Traditional Medicine for Migraine Prophylaxis’, *Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Schloß Seggau, Graz, June 18th–24th 1995*, Vienna 1996 (forthcoming).

⁴ Originally from Ladakh, he studied Tibetan medicine and pharmacology in Menze-khang/Lhasa. He is one of the outstanding specialists in Tibetan pharmacology.

minerals) is entitled *Rasaśāstra*: Bhagwan Dash calls it 'iatrochemistry'⁵ and views it as closely linked to tantra and alchemy. The most important texts of this *Rasaśāstra* originate from the eighth century. According to these, the preparation and application of mercury in India for medicinal purposes was already well-known and valued even when Tibetan medicine was in the preparatory stages of being written down.

An essential aspect of this *Rasaśāstra* in the field of medicine deals not so much with the treatment of illness but with prolonging human life beyond old age. This power was attributed to mercury along with the possibility of living a full cycle in excellent health and with the full mental and physical capacities until death, which is identical with views of early traditional Chinese medicine.

Mercury today is still used and distributed in Ayurvedic and Tibetan medicines. One can buy these mercury pills in Asia in every Ayurvedic and Tibetan pharmacy. Mostly the inert mercuric sulphide (HgS = cinnabar; if produced synthetically called vermilion) is used, less commonly mercurous chloride Hg_2Cl_2 (calomel) is found.

Probably the best discussion about toxicity/non-toxicity, as well as the prescriptive ratios for the use of mercury in Ayurvedic (similar to Tibetan) medicine is given by A. K. Nadkarni.⁶ He describes all the different processes of preparation of mercury called 'detoxification' or 'purification', and these processes are still used in the same way by Tibetan doctors in preparing their medicines.

How Much and What Kind of Mercury in a Jewel Pill?

From my personal "scientific" perspective, these detoxifications do not have anything mystical or magical about them. A detailed description of these different ways of detoxification can also be found in the work of Bhagwan Dash.⁷ All the described processes lead to the elimination of impurities of the mercury through its mechanical treatment, followed by a prolonged heat treatment. Sulphur is then added and through this process mostly the inert cinnabar is obtained. The daily dosage during an Ayurvedic treatment is about 30-40 mg of mercuric sulphide. This is usually given in combination with processed

⁵ See his fundamental and in the given context very important work *Alchemy and Metallic Medicines in Ayurveda*, New Delhi 1986, 28ff.

⁶ K. M. Nadkarni's *Indian Materia Medica*, revised and enlarged by A. K. Nadkarni, Bombay 1976, vol. 2, 67-83.

⁷ Op. cit. in note 5, 40-103.

aconite (together with the fruit of *Terminalia chebula*). One Tibetan Byu-dmar 25 'jewel pill' contains (depending on its origin) according to our analysis between 10–50 mg cinnabar – which corresponds closely to the Ayurvedic prescriptions. With the use of atomic absorption spectrometry at the University of Ulm a project was undertaken to investigate Byu-dmar 25 pills from different origins: a wide variation in the concentration of mercury was thereby discovered (see fig.1). It should be noted that nearly identical results were obtained independently in Ayurvedic drugs containing mercury.⁸

One result of our analysis seems to be of special importance: it was not only the inert, i. e. insoluble and therefore non-toxic HgS (cinnabar) which was discovered in Byu-dmar 25, but of the total mercury between 10 to 30% represent the equally insoluble metallic mercury (see fig.1). According to the criteria of the WHO, the weekly dose of mercury that can be tolerated by the body is estimated at 0.3 mg (but this is stated exclusively for inhaled mercury vapour). With 5 to 10 mg of metallic mercury per Byu-dmar 25 pill, this 'jewel pill' thus contains some 15 to 30 times this amount, suggesting that the amount taken in with two to three pills is equivalent to the WHO tolerance boundary for the maximum annual dose. Even so there is still much confusion, especially in the modern mass media, about which kind of mercury is most dangerous for human health according to modern scientific knowledge. It should be stated clearly here that the really dangerous mercury, even in small amounts, is only the organically bound mercury (see below), and that could not be detected in our Tibetan pills. From a purely chemical standpoint, the amount of detected metallic and sulphur bound mercury passes through the human body practically without entering the blood and tissue and can therefore be considered as much less dangerous than organically bound mercury (like that accumulated in fish from polluted waters⁹).

Mercury: Good for Health or Damaging the Brain?

What conclusions can we draw from this information? We in the West are convinced – as are the Chinese, Tibetan and Indian Ayurvedic doctors who acknowledge and act in awareness of it – that organically bound mercury and higher doses of any kind of mercury are poisonous,¹⁰ especially to the nervous

⁸ B. N. Misra and B. K. Mohanty, *Hazards of Mercury in Ayurvedic Drugs*, Delhi 1994.

⁹ The well known Minamata Bay disease is the result of a massive epidemic episode of human exposure to alkyl-mercury contaminated food sources (fish).

¹⁰ 'Mercury as such is poisonous to the body cells' (Dash, op. cit. in note 5, p. 42).

system, and chronic poisoning is dangerous to our health.¹¹ The most important difference is that in the light of the traditional concepts of Asian doctors small or very small amounts, as found in the Tibetan 'jewel pills', after special processing (and this process is the vital factor) are considered beneficial to health, while even these small amounts of mercury are considered to be harmful in the West (regardless of their chemical properties).

Western scholarly medical opinion in addition distinguishes between the toxicity of inorganic mercury (as in the precious pills) and organically compounded mercury (as in the case of alkyl-mercuric compounds). Chronic poisoning through metallic mercury as well as organically bound mercury salts elicits, according to Western medical experience, symptoms such as headaches, vertigo and decreasing psychological function. With higher doses, the neurological symptoms of brain damage appear: a slight tremor, involuntary muscle spasms, deafness, spasms of arms and legs. At the early stages of poisoning there is frequently a pronounced restlessness called 'erethismus mercurialis', and chronic insomnia can dominate other symptoms of poisoning. Behavioural changes may appear as depression, increasing in severity with rising levels of poisoning. Ayurvedic and Tibetan doctors insist on never having seen this kind of side effect – but this has never been scientifically proven either way.

'Purification' and 'detoxification' – if they have any meaning – are irrelevant to German or European laws: today it is simply impossible and ethically unacceptable to administer any kind of mercury to patients. In order to overcome this problem and still to test Tibetan 'jewel pills' legally in Germany on people suffering e.g. from migraine, Amchi Tashigang from the Tibetan Medical Institute in Delhi has compounded a mercury-free new 'jewel pill' according to the Tibetan medical system, which contains between eight and thirteen 'jewels', minerals, and plants from the Himalayas, all of which ingredients have been extremely well investigated in Western medicine. This

¹¹ Misra and Mohanty, op. cit. in note 8. These authors conclude (p. 56) that 'the results obtained in their scientific project show substantial bio-accumulation of mercury in the experimental animals administered with the master drug "Kajyolo", a mercurial indigenous drug. The effects are summarised in the schematic diagram (Appendix-I), which reveals a significant toxic effect on mammalian system. It is therefore suggested that such drugs should be avoided as far as practicable. The results further indicate that the mercury purified by the most complicated process in ayurvedic therapy still retains its toxicological properties as evident from the results presented here. The claim of ayurvedic therapists that the mercury loses its toxic properties after purification process is therefore not acceptable.' – It should be added that no alkyl-mercuric or other organic bound mercury could be detected but the same rather inert Hg and HgS as in the Tibetan pills.

new 'jewel pill' (Byu-dmar 13) has already shown its positive action as a prophylactic medicine for severe migraine in a scientific research project currently being undertaken.

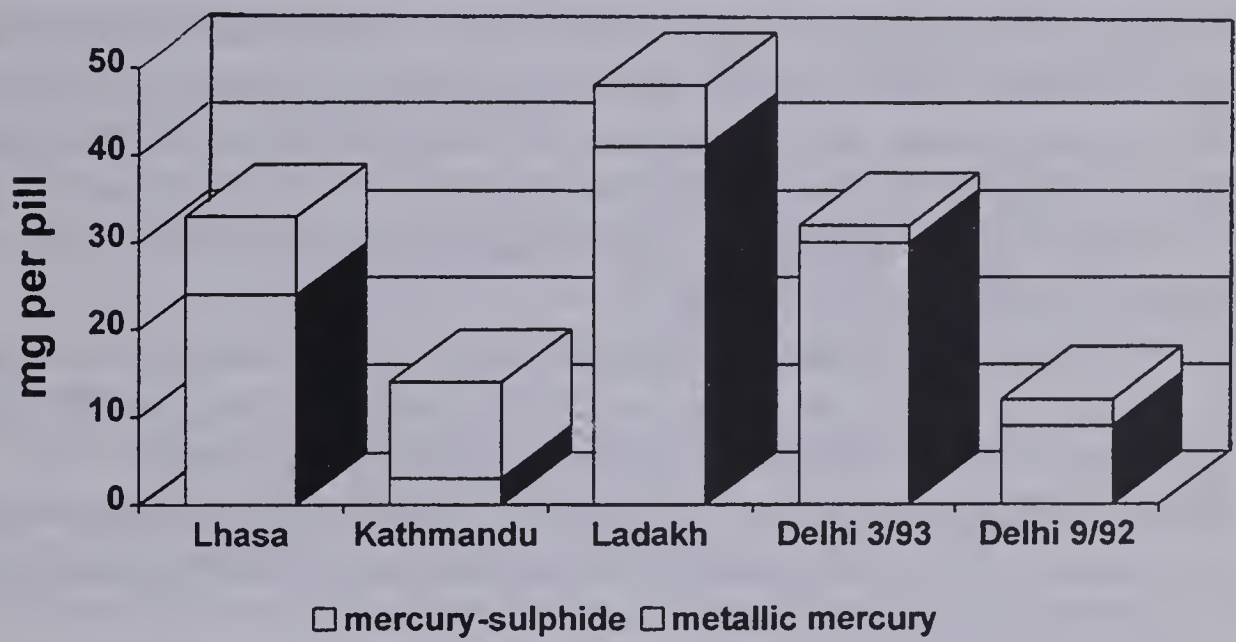


Figure 1
Mercury concentrations in 'jewel pills' from different localities

Kokkokas *Ratirahasya* übersetzt und erläutert (III)*

KLAUS MYLIUS

XIII. Der Abschnitt über fremde Ehefrauen²⁹³

1. Damit ist in gedrängter Form der die Ehefrau betreffende Abschnitt dargelegt worden. Jetzt werde ich darüber sprechen, wie man sich an fremde Frauen heranmacht. Dies ist indessen der Feind des Lebens und des guten Rufes, dagegen der Freund der Sittenlosigkeit.²⁹⁴ Es ist somit nur auf Veranlassung der folgenden zehn Gesichtspunkte davon Gebrauch zu machen, nicht aber aus Wollust.²⁹⁵
2. Die in Blicken sich äußernde Liebe kommt als erstes, dann das Anhaften in Gedanken, danach die Phantasie, Schlaflosigkeit, Abmagerung, Sich-abwenden von der Sittenwelt, Schwinden des Schamgefühls,
3. Raserei, Ohnmacht und Tod – dies sind die zehn Stufen der Liebe. Wenn auf diesen die Liebe emporsteigt, dann gehe man zu einer anderen Frau – zur Rettung seiner selbst.²⁹⁶
4. Frauen kann man aufs neue erlangen, Reichtum aufs neue, aufs neue auch Ackerland und einen Sohn. Man kann auch wieder eine segensreiche Tat vollbringen. Aber einen neuen Körper erlangt man nicht.
5. Wer sich an eine unverheiratete weibliche Person²⁹⁷ oder an die Gattin eines Brahmanen heranmacht, dem wird immerwährende Unreiheit zuteil, als würde er täglich einen Brahmanenmord²⁹⁸ begehen.
6. Die Frau eines Brahmanen darf also kein Objekt der Sinneslust sein.

* Fortsetzung aus *JEĀS* 3, 1993, 145-173, und 4, 1995, 163-193.

²⁹³ Hier greift Kokkoka vielfach auf den fünften Hauptteil des *Kāmasūtra* zurück.

²⁹⁴ Das *Kāmasūtra* ist in diesem Punkt weit weniger skrupulös.

²⁹⁵ Kokkoka meint im Grunde dasselbe wie Vātsyāyana, aber er drückt sich weniger direkt aus. Die 'zehn Gesichtspunkte' jedenfalls bieten jedem Seitensprung eine hinreichende Motivation.

²⁹⁶ Da man die letzten vier Stufen kaum eintreten lassen darf oder kann, findet sich ein Vorwand 'zur Rettung seiner selbst' gewiß ohne große Mühe.

²⁹⁷ Zu ergänzen ist wohl: 'ohne die Absicht einer Heirat'.

²⁹⁸ Die Ermordung eines Brahmanen galt als schwerstes und zugleich unsühnbares Verbrechen.

Allerdings gilt sie nicht als geschändet, wenn sie zuvor bereits von fünf Männern besessen gewesen sein sollte.²⁹⁹ Verboten ist jedoch die Frau eines gelehrten Brahmanen, eines Freundes, eines Verwandten und des Landesherrn.

7. Eine Heruntergekommene,³⁰⁰ eine Freundin,³⁰¹ eine Jungfrau, eine zur Askese Hingezogene, eine Kranke, eine, die sich zur Schau stellt, eine Verrückte, eine Übelriechende, eine Ältliche, eine Verräterin von Geheimnissen, eine Rötliche,³⁰²
8. eine gar zu Dunkle³⁰³ und eine, die einem anvertraut wurde – an alle diese mache man sich unter keinen Umständen heran. Wenngleich fremde Frauen nicht als Objekte der Sinneslust aufzusuchen sind, sprechen die Weisen dennoch aus bestimmten Gründen über das Verhältnis zu ihnen.³⁰⁴
9. ‘Mit meinem Feind zusammengetan hat sich ihr Mann. Den soll sie von jenem wieder abwenden.’³⁰⁵ Oder: ‘Mit mir vereint, wird sie den Mächtigen, der mich töten will, wieder zur Ruhe bringen.’³⁰⁶
10. Oder: ‘Sich an sie heranzumachen, ist ungefährlich. Sie könnte für mich, der ich verarmt bin, die Grundlage des Lebensunterhalts werden.’ Oder: ‘Sie ist in mich verliebt, kennt aber meine schwachen Seiten. Würde ich mich von ihr abwenden, könnte sie mir schaden,
11. indem sie mit einer betrügerisch zusammengestoppelten, fälschlichen

²⁹⁹ Daß zum sechsten Male verheiratete Frauen gemeint sein sollen, ist kaum vorstellbar. Ob es sich also um leichtlebige Brahmanenfrauen gehandelt hat? Doch würden solche ihre Geheimnisse nicht zu gut gehütet haben, als daß man sie in der Öffentlichkeit hätte zählen können?

³⁰⁰ Dazu zählen insbesondere aus ihrer Kaste verstoßene Frauen.

³⁰¹ Hier nicht erotisch, sondern wohl im eigentlichen, “platonischen” Sinn zu verstehen. Im *Kāmasūtra* ist jedoch die Freundin der eigenen Frau gemeint.

³⁰² Es bleibt offen, ob Haut, Augen oder Haare gemeint sind.

³⁰³ Dies dürfte sich auf die Hautfarbe beziehen.

³⁰⁴ Es folgt hiernach die Aufzählung von nichterotischen Gründen, die zur Annäherung an die Gattin eines anderen Mannes führen können; Quelle ist *Kāmasūtra* I,5.

³⁰⁵ Hier und im folgenden ist die fremde Frau also nur zum Schein ein Lustobjekt; in Wahrheit soll die Verbindung mit ihr dem Liebhaber irgendeinen praktischen Nutzen bringen.

³⁰⁶ Dieser Satz trifft wohl nur ungefähr den Sinn, da die Überlieferung der betreffenden Textstelle unsicher ist.

Beschuldigung behaupten würde: “Dieser hier will mich entführen!”
Oder: ‘Ich leiste einen großen Freundschaftsdienst, wenn ich mich mit ihr vereine.’

12. Man gehe also zu einer solchen Frau nur aus dem Grund, daß man derartige Gesichtspunkte beobachtet, nicht aber aus Leidenschaft, oder aber, wenn man erkannt hat, daß man unfähig ist, noch Gründe zu untersuchen, weil man von der Liebe aufgewühlt ist.³⁰⁷
13. Von denjenigen, die sich an die Gattinnen anderer Männer heranmachen wollen, sollte *vorher* darüber nachgedacht werden, wie der Verlust von Wohlfahrt,³⁰⁸ Einkommen und Unterhalt zu vermeiden ist. Denn hat die Liebe erst freien Lauf erlangt, ist sie schwer zu besiegen.
14. Die Liebe zu einer Frau,³⁰⁹ die³¹⁰ Sünde mit sich bringt, schwer zu erlangen ist und zu den verbotenen Dingen gehört, ist ihrem Wesen nach unheilvoll, breitet sich aber unaufhaltsam aus.³¹¹
15. Hat eine Frau einen Mann von prächtiger Gestalt gesehen, verliebt sie sich in ihn. Ebenso geht es einem Mann gegenüber einer entsprechenden Frau. Doch gibt es zwischen beiden den folgenden Unterschied: Die Frau begehrt ohne Rücksicht auf Moral.³¹²
16. Wird sie von einem Mann umworben, gibt sie sich nicht sogleich mit ihrem Innersten hin. Der Mann aber geht unter Berücksichtigung der günstigen Zeit usw. vor oder er läßt es bleiben.
17. Eine leicht zu erlangende Frau verachtet er; er liebt die schwer zu erobernde. Und oft³¹³ ist sein Beginnen umsonst. Soviel zum Charakter von

³⁰⁷ Kokkoka nimmt hier eine Haltung ein, wie sie schon in Anm. 295 gekennzeichnet wurde.

³⁰⁸ Es ist *siddhi* statt *middhi* zu lesen.

³⁰⁹ Das *viṣaya* des Textes bedeutet eigentlich nicht ‘Frau’, sondern ‘Gegenstand, Objekt; Bereich (auch der der Sinnesorgane)’, doch so unhöflich wollen wir auch gegenüber “verbotenen” Frauen nicht sein.

³¹⁰ Gemeint ist die Frau, nicht die Liebe.

³¹¹ Kokkoka geht hiernach zu allgemeinen Gesichtspunkten der Verliebtheit und der Gewinnung eines Partners über.

³¹² Dies ist ein bekannter Topos der altindischen Literatur.

³¹³ Dieses Wort wurde um des besseren Verständnisses willen hinzugefügt. Dennoch bleibt die Deutung unsicher, denn der Sanskrittext könnte auch mit ‘Er klagt sie fälschlich an’ übersetzt werden.

Mann und Frau. Nun werde ich über die Gründe sprechen, die dazu führen, daß eine Frau sich abwendet:³¹⁴

18. Überaus große Zuneigung zum Ehemann; Zärtlichkeit zu den Kindern; vorgerücktes Alter; Verzweiflung über einen Unglücksfall; bei einigen auch Rücksicht auf die Moral;³¹⁵
19. Nichtabwesenheit des Gatten; Kenntniss eines an ihr selbst haftenden Makels; die Meinung, er sei in eine andere verliebt und wolle zu ihr gehen; Unfähigkeit, so etwas zu tun in der Erwägung: 'Durch mich soll ihm kein Leid zustoßen!';
20. die Ansicht: 'Er ist ein schwer zu durchschauender Lebemann!'; 'Er ist ein bloßer Freund!'; 'Er ist vom Gatten angestellt!': Das ist als Wertschätzung aufzufassen. 'Er ist zu dumm, um Gebärden zu deuten!'; 'Er ist ergraut!'; 'Er ist gewöhnlich!'; 'Sein Beginnen könnte verstellt sein!';³¹⁶ 'Er weiß nichts über den rechten Ort und die rechte Zeit!':
21. Das ist als Geringschätzung aufzufassen. Ferner: Kummer, weil er nur für seine Freunde da ist, ihren, der Frau, Sinn aber nicht versteht; Furcht, weil er strahlt,³¹⁷ weil er von unbeständigem Wesen ist oder weil sie denkt: 'Ich könnte von meinen Verwandten durchschaut und hinausgeworfen werden!'.
 22. Diese Gründe hat man für ein Sichabwenden der Frauen, auch bei Vorhandensein eines Begehrens, angeführt. Zur Beseitigung der zu Beginn genannten fünf Ursachen ist ein Wachstum der Leidenschaft zu bewirken.
23. Liegt die Begründung im Außerstandesein der Frau, hilft, je nach den Umständen, die Verdeutlichung eines geeigneten Mittels. Wertschätzung kann durch besonders vertrauten Umgang, Geringschätzung durch den Ruf des Scharfsinns und des Reichtums, Kummer durch Höflichkeit, Furcht durch Zuspruch beseitigt werden.

³¹⁴ Gemeint ist eine verheiratete Frau, die außerehelichen Verlockungen widersteht.

³¹⁵ Also sind nicht *alle* Frauen von Natur aus unmoralisch (vgl. Vers 15)!

³¹⁶ D.h. wohl, er könnte die Treue der Frau im Auftrag ihres Gatten auf die Probe stellen wollen.

³¹⁷ Gemeint ist, daß der Mann ein gar zu hervorragendes Äußeres aufweist. So ist auch die in Vers 20 erwähnte Wertschätzung als eine den intimen Umgang ausschließende Bewertung etwa im Sinne von Ehrfurcht zu verstehen.

24. Folgende Arten von Männern sind bei Frauen erfolgreich:³¹⁸ ein Held; einer, der gefällig spricht; der Kenner der Liebeslehre; der Angenehmes tut; der ins Auge fällt;³¹⁹ der Verwegene; der Geschmack besitzt; der überwältigende Jugendschönheit aufweist;
25. mit dem man von Kindheit an befreundet ist; der bei Spiel, Arbeit usw. Vertrauen erworben hat; der in der Kunst der Erzählens gewandt ist; der für irgend jemand anderen das Botenamt versehen hat;
26. der, selbst wenn er keine Vorzüge aufzuweisen hat, die Schwächen der Frauen kennt; der sich heimlich³²⁰ mit einer Freundin vereinigt hat; dem einst eine besonders vorzügliche Frau angehört hat; ein Liebenswürdiger; einer aus berühmtem Geschlecht Stammender; der Schwager;³²¹
27. ein verliebter Diener; ebenso ein solcher Nachbar; der Gatte der Milchschwester; ein Fleißiger; ein Freigebiger;
28. der die Öffentlichkeit liebt;³²² der als ein Stier bekannt ist; der an guten Eigenschaften ihren Gatten übertrifft; dessen Kleidung und Wandel begehrenswert und kostspielig sind.
29. Die mühelos zu gewinnenden Frauen sind folgende:³²³ die es liebt, an der Tür zu stehen;³²⁴ die, wenn angeschaut, zur Seite blickt; die ihren Mann haßt oder unglücklich ist; eine Kinderlose; die schuldlos mißachtet wird;
30. die sich über Schamhaftigkeit hinwegsetzt; die Unfruchtbare; die Klatschsüchtige; deren Kinder verstorben sind; die nicht abwesend ist; die aufgrund eines Vergehens oder auch fälschlicherweise von den Mitfrauen mißachtet wird;
31. ein Mädchen, dessen Gatte verstorben ist;³²⁵ eine nach vielen Genüssen

³¹⁸ Dieser Passus ist um des besseren Verständnisses willen aus Vers 28 vorgezogen worden.

³¹⁹ Nicht ganz sicher, aber doch besser als 'Schauspieler' oder dergleichen.

³²⁰ Es ist *pracchanna* statt *prcchanna* zu lesen.

³²¹ Das Sanskritwort deutet auf den Gatten der Schwester.

³²² Oder: 'der an Schaustellungen Gefallen findet'.

³²³ Dieser Passus ist um des besseren Verständnisses willen aus Vers 34 vorgezogen worden.

³²⁴ In der altindischen Literatur gilt eine solche Frau nicht, wie bei uns, für klatschhaft, sondern für dreist und sittenlos.

³²⁵ Diese Stelle, die im *Kāmasūtra* keine Parallele hat, deutet wohl auf das Vorhan-

- strebende Arme; die Hochmütige, die einen unbedeutenden Gatten hat; die in der Liebeskunst Erfahrene, die ihres törichten Gatten überdrüssig ist;
32. die Gattin des ältesten von mehreren Brüdern, die also viele Schwäger besitzt; deren Mann verreist ist; die von ihren Standesgenossen erniedrigt wird; die sich ständig in der Familie ihrer Blutsverwandten aufhält;³²⁶ die Eifersüchtige; die von gleichem Charakter wie ihr Mann ist;
33. die in der Mädchenzeit angestrengt umworben wurde und dann doch aus irgendeinem Grund allein blieb; die in der Jugend entführt wurde; die von anschiemiger Natur ist;
34. die Frau eines Wanderschauspielers, eines Verunstalteten, eines Zwerges, eines Übelriechenden, eines Dorfbewohners und eines Kranken, ferner die Gattin eines Bösewichtes, eines Greises und eines Eunuchen.
35. Eine, bei der die zweite Zehe am linken Fuß größer als die große Zehe ist, oder die Spitze der mittleren Zehe kürzer als die große, oder bei der die kleine Zehe den Erdboden nicht berührt,
36. oder bei der die beiden nächsten Zehen³²⁷ dies nicht tun, ferner eine, die einen schielenden Blick hat sowie eine Rotäugige – eine solche kennen die der Körpermale Kundigen als Dirne, ebenso eine, deren Mund immerfort lacht.
37. Ein Mann, der seine eigenen Möglichkeiten kennt, die charakterlichen Merkmale der Frauen berücksichtigt und die Ursachen ihrer Verweigerung beseitigt, hat bei den Frauen Erfolg.
38. Der Geschlechtstrieb³²⁸ entsteht aus der eigenen Natur. Er wächst durch entsprechende Tat.³²⁹ Durch die Einsicht³³⁰ geläutert, wird die Leidenschaft beständig und unvergänglich.³³¹
39. Frauen, die das erste Mal Ehebruch treiben, oder bei denen keine Zü-

densein der Sitte der Kinderheirat zu Kokkokas Zeit.

³²⁶ Die sich also selten bei ihrem Mann befindet.

³²⁷ Also die dritte und die vierte Zehe.

³²⁸ Gemeint ist hier die Libido der Frauen.

³²⁹ Nämlich durch die Werbung und Aktivitäten des Mannes.

³³⁰ In die inneren Zusammenhänge von Liebe und Sexualität.

³³¹ Hiernach lehrt Kokkoka die Arten des Vorgehens, die es gestatten, erfolgreich um eine Frau zu werben.

- gelung der Rede statthat, sind durch den Mann selbst zu umwerben; ist es aber umgekehrt, mit Hilfe von Liebesbotinnen.
40. Ist ein selbständiges Herangehen zu bewerkstelligen, soll man sich um die Zuneigung der Frau bemühen, und zwar zunächst ohne sexuelles Verlangen. Gewissermaßen als Liebesbrief oder -botin sende man oftmals den Blick nach ihr aus.
 41. Am eigenen Körper vollziehe der Mann ein Lösen und Binden des Haupthaars sowie das Ritzen mit den Fingernägeln. Häufig bewirke er ein Erklingen seines Schmuckes und ein Reiben der Unter- und Oberlippe³³² ³³³.
 42. Auf den Schoß eines lieben Freundes gebettet, rekele er die Glieder und gähne. Er gebe eine stotternde Rede von sich. Häufig bewege er herausfordernd eine Augenbraue.³³⁴
 43. Unter einem anderen Vorwand führe er mit Freunden ein die Frau betreffendes Gespräch. Aufmerksam höre er auf ihre Rede. Über seinen Wunsch spreche er nur versteckt.
 44. Einem Freund oder einem Knaben gebe man einen auf die Frau zielenden Kuß oder umarme ihn. Ihren Schoß oder Körper berühre er leicht, wobei er eine Liebkosung ihres Knaben zum Vorwand nimmt.
 45. Unter dem Vorwand, dem Knaben Kinderspielsachen zu geben und wieder zu nehmen, beginne er ein Gespräch. Nachdem er sich bei den mit der Frau vertrauten Leuten Wohlwollen verschafft hat, besitzt er bei ihr Zugang.³³⁵
 46. Ihr, die gleichsam unwissend zuhört, erzähle er deutliche Liebesgeschichten. Wenn auf diese Weise Zuneigung aufkeimt, gebe er der Frau etwas zur Aufbewahrung.
 47. Bei dessen wiederholter oder gar täglicher Rücknahme ergibt sich die Möglichkeit einer Umarmung. Dann bringe er sie mit seinen eigenen Frauen zu vertrauensvollen Gesprächen zusammen.
 48. Ist sie um den Kauf oder Verkauf eines Gegenstandes bemüht, stelle er sich, indem er an ihr hängt, zur Verfügung. Er schließe die Lücke, die die

³³² Mit Daumen und Zeigefinger.

³³³ All das soll die Aufmerksamkeit der Frau auf den Mann ziehen.

³³⁴ Wenn man *prahvayet* in dieser Weise deuten darf.

³³⁵ Vgl. *Kāmasūtra* V,2,8. Überhaupt lehnen sich die aufgezeigten Methoden zur Gewinnung einer Frau eng an die Lehren des Vātsyāyana an.

anderen in ihrem Verstand haben,³³⁶ und stelle ein Band der Zuneigung her.

49. Nachdem er über alte Legenden und andere Erzählungen, über Gegenstände und Eigenschaften ein Streitgespräch mit ihrem Gefolge oder mit ihr selbst in Gang gebracht hat, soll er die Frau, nachdem darüber Wetten abgeschlossen wurden, um ihr Urteil befragen.³³⁷
50. Indem er auf diese Weise Zuneigung bewirkt, beobachte er ihre Gebärden. Schaut sie ihn unvermittelt an, stützt sie sich auf ihre Schamhaftigkeit nur noch eine kleine Weile.
51. Für einen Augenblick³³⁸ und unter einem Vorwand entblößt sie ihren prachtvollen Körper und ritzt mit dem Fuß die Erde auf. Mit einem Lächeln blickt sie langsam, doch häufig, auf den übrigen, bedeckten Teil ihres Körpers.
52. Voll Gefühl umarmt und küßt sie ein auf ihren Schoß gekommenes Kind. Wird sie nach etwas gefragt, spricht sie mit gesenktem Antlitz und unklarer Lautfolge, doch vorwiegend lächelnd.
53. Sie spricht, indem sie unter einem Vorwand seine Gegenwart sucht, lange in der Hoffnung: 'Möge er mich doch anschauen!' und drückt sich gefühlvoll und gehoben aus.
54. Was auch immer er betrachtet, dort knüpft sie mit List ein Gespräch an. Was ihr von ihm gegeben wurde, das trägt sie stets. Was sie auch in seiner Gegenwart erblickt, darüber lacht sie.
55. Und auf den Schoß einer lieben Freundin gekommen, vollführt sie allerlei Koketterie. Zu den Leuten ihres Verehrers verhält sie sich liebevoll, spielt und unterhält sich mit ihnen.
56. Und sie hört sich an, was seitens der Dienerschaft über ihn erzählt wird, und erteilt ihr Aufträge wie der eigenen. In seine Freunde setzt sie Vertrauen und folgt liebevoll deren Wort.
57. Nicht gewährt sie ihm ihren Anblick, wenn sie nicht geschmückt ist. Wenn sie von ihm ersucht wird, gibt sie lässig ihrer Freundin ein Blumengewinde oder dergleichen in die Hand.
58. Sie seufzt auf, blickt schräg, reibt mit der Hand ihren Busen, rafft ihr

³³⁶ Diese bildhafte Ausdrucksweise besagt: Er soll die Mitbewerber an Geistesschärfe übertreffen, indem er ihre intellektuellen Schwächen im eigenen Interesse nutzt.

³³⁷ Die etwas freie Übersetzung ergibt sich nach *Kāmasūtra* V,2,16.

³³⁸ Wörtlich: 'nicht für lange Zeit'.

- Kleid zusammen und bewirkt ein Knacken ihrer Finger.³³⁹
59. Zweideutig spricht sie und verschämt, bringt ein Gähnen³⁴⁰ hervor und schlägt mit Blumen und anderem nach ihm. Sie bringt an sich ein prächtiges Stirnmal an und berührt die Hüfte der Freundin.³⁴¹
 60. Sie hustet laut, löst ihr Haar und begibt sich unter einem Vorwand in sein Haus. An Händen, Füßen, Fingern und im Gesicht schwitzt sie und wischt sich mit ihren lianenhaften Armen ab.
 61. 'Wieviele Frauen hat er gegenwärtig? Welche von ihnen liebt er beständig?' Dies und anderes fragt sie seine Umgebung heimlich und bedeutungsvoll.
 62. Hat sie ihm so ihre zustimmenden Gebärden offenbart, so vollziehe er die berührende³⁴² und andere Umarmungen. Unbemerkt berühre er beim Wasservergnügen³⁴³ ihre Brüste und ihr Gesäß.³⁴⁴
 63. Nachdem er sich irgendeine Krankheit zugezogen hat und die Frau unter dem Vorwand einer Erkundigung nach seinem Befinden gekommen ist, nehme er ihre Hand auf seinen Kopf und die Augen und lasse dadurch ihre Körperhärchen sich sträuben.
 64. Und voll zärtlicher Liebe führe er eine solche doppelsinnige Rede: 'Stille, o Schöngesichtige, meine Qual! Berücksichtige: Die Ursache derselben bist du allein!'
 65. 'O Schöngliedrige! Ist die Tatsache, daß du mich nicht beachtest, die geeignete Frucht deiner Tugend?' Er beschäftige sie mit Tätigkeiten wie dem Zerstampfen von Arzneikräutern usw.
 66. Er bewirke ihre Berührung mit den Fingernägeln und ein gegenseitiges Geben und Nehmen von Betel, Blumen usw. Er gebe ihr ein von den Spuren seiner Nägel und Zähne gekennzeichnetes Blatt oder dergleichen.
 67. Nachdem er sie dann in ein Versteck gebracht hat, finde er dort schritt-

³³⁹ Wörtlich: 'ihrer Handzweige'.

³⁴⁰ Im alten Indien kein Attribut der Langeweile, sondern verbunden mit kokettem Strecken der Glieder.

³⁴¹ All dies sind natürlich beziehungsvolle Handlungen.

³⁴² Vgl. oben, VI,1.

³⁴³ Gemeint ist das im alten Indien sehr beliebte und von berühmten Dichtern besungene, von Männern und Frauen gemeinsam betriebene Baden.

³⁴⁴ Mit *jaghana* kann auch die Schamgegend gemeint sein (vgl. Anm. 68).

weise den Glücksgenuß inniger³⁴⁵ Umarmungen usw. und damit die Befriedigung lange angestauter Wünsche in der Weihe für den Herrn der Liebe.

68. Bei dichter Finsternis in der Nacht werden die Frauen zur Liebe entschlossen und sind leidenschaftlich. Werden sie zu dieser Zeit bestürmt, weisen sie einen Mann kaum jemals ab.
69. Der Ort, wo eine Matrone wohnt, die die Sinneslüste erfahren hat, ist in weitem Bogen zu meiden. Wo man sich bereits um eine Frau bewirbt, da soll man sich an keine andere heranmachen.³⁴⁶
70. Wenn eine Werbung stattfindet, ist eine gründliche Prüfung des Verhaltens der Frau vorzunehmen. Auch wenn sie die Werbung annimmt, tut sie den Zustand der Verliebtheit dennoch nicht immer kund.
71. Man wisse, daß eine Frau, die eine Werbung nicht entgegennimmt, durch eine Liebesbotin zu gewinnen ist. Nimmt sie an, ist aber noch schwankenden Sinnes, wird sie Schritt für Schritt bezwungen.
72. Hat sie die Werbung zwar nicht angenommen, hält sich aber, auserlesen geschmückt, an einem einsamen Ort auf, ist, auch wenn sie sich dort fest zeigt, sie mit Gewalt zu nehmen.
73. Erscheint sie zum Stelldichein und duldet die Werbung, ist sie durch liebevolles Verhalten zu gewinnen. Eine, die, wenn umworben, den Freier abweist und sich aus Selbstachtung nicht mit ihm trifft,
74. sich aber andererseits aus Achtung vor dem Liebhaber nicht gänzlich ablehnend zeigt, ist durch besonders engen Verkehr zu gewinnen. Eine, die sich scheinbar³⁴⁷ ablehnend verhält, jedoch Zuneigung bezeigt, ist leicht zu gewinnen.
75. Soll eine Frau verführt werden, und gibt sie deutlich eine klare Antwort, so ist sie gewonnen. Fordert sie aber selbst den Mann zuerst auf, so war sie von vornherein gewonnen.
76. Bei einer standhaften, schüchternen und kritischen Frau gilt diese genaue Regel; die Gewinnung einer Frau ist damit klar.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁵ Wie diese gesamte Passage etwas frei übersetzt.

³⁴⁶ Vom nächsten Vers an erläutert Kokkoka die Anzeichen dafür, ob eine Werbung Aussicht auf Erfolg hat.

³⁴⁷ Wie so häufig in diesem Abschnitt, sind die knappen Worte des Sanskrit-Originals in geeigneter Weise zu ergänzen.

³⁴⁸ Dies ist aus *Kāmasūtra* V,3,28 entlehnt.

77. Was eine Liebesbotin³⁴⁹ auszuführen hat, das will ich in Kürze jetzt ebenfalls darlegen. Als erstes verschaffe³⁵⁰ sie sich bei ihr³⁵¹ Zugang aufgrund ihres guten Charakters, durch Zaubermittel, Erzählungen usw.
78. Sie mache sie mit den Schönheit und Glück verleihenden Sprüchen aus der Śruti³⁵² sowie mit Heilkräutern, Gedichten und den Geheimnissen der Liebeslust vertraut. Nachdem sie in Verbindung mit solchen Erklärungen Zutrauen erweckt hat, spreche sie:
79. 'Wie steht es um deine Schönheit, deine Kunstfertigkeit, dein Wissen und deinen Charakter, und wie um die betreffenden Eigenschaften deines Gatten? Pfui über das Schicksal, das sich abwendet von dem dir Angemessenen³⁵³ und das deine Jugendfrische betrügt!
80. 'Dein Gatte ist eifersüchtig, undankbar, von trägem Temperament, in Heimtücke verharrend, unklug. Er ist nicht einmal dafür geeignet, dein Sklave zu sein. O weh!' und so fort.
81. Mit einer Flut den Gatten herabsetzender Worte erfülle sie die Frau mit Abneigung gegen diesen. Wenn die Frau selbst sich über einen Fehler des Gatten aufregt, vergrößere sie ihn noch.
82. Ergibt sich so die Gelegenheit, führe sie ein Gespräch über die Anzahl von guten Eigenschaften des Liebhabers herbei. Hat sie damit das Wohlwollen der Frau erweckt, spreche sie: 'Höre, du Schöne, etwas Wunderbares,
83. 'eine ganz wunderbare Begebenheit! Jener junge Mann, der zart wie eine Blume ist – er ist von deinem Blick, o Freundin, wie von einer Schlange gebissen und in Ungewißheit gestürzt worden.
84. 'Er seufzt, schwitzt, wird ohnmächtig. Seine Qual ist nicht mehr zu bannen. Wenn er den Nektarsaft deines Mondantlitzes³⁵⁴ nicht erlangt, wird er entseelt sein.

³⁴⁹ Vgl. *Kāmasūtra* V,4.

³⁵⁰ Eine notgedrungen freie Übersetzung des Kausativs von *vi√śiṣ*.

³⁵¹ Nämlich bei der zu gewinnenden Frau.

³⁵² Den als Offenbarung betrachteten Texten der vedischen Literatur.

³⁵³ Die Botin will der zu verführenden Frau klarmachen, daß das Schicksal ihr einen passenden Gefährten vorenthalten habe; natürlich soll als solcher alsbald der Auftraggeber empfohlen werden.

³⁵⁴ Ein rundes Gesicht galt im alten Indien als Schönheitsideal, wogegen Dolichocephalie verpönt war.

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85. 'Nicht einmal im Traum, du Schöne, hat er jemals eine solche Leidenschaft³⁵⁵ erlebt.' Hat sie so gesprochen und die andere hat es geduldet, dann soll sie, wenn sie mit ihr am nächsten Tag zusammentrifft, wieder in dieser Weise sprechen,
86. über die Geschichte von Ahalyā³⁵⁶ und anderen sowie über die rühmensewerte Vereinigung der Frau mit ihrem Buhlen. Indem sie in dieser Weise vorgeht, muß sie auf die Miene der Frau achten.
87. Nachdem die umworbene Frau die Botin angeblickt hat, spricht sie lächelnd zu ihr, daß sie sich in ihrer Nähe niederlassen möge.³⁵⁷ Sie fragt, ob sie gegessen und sich niedergelegt hat. Sie läßt sie weiter erzählen oder trifft sich insgeheim mit ihr.
88. Sie seufzt auf oder gähnt, gibt der Botin etwas von ihrer Habe und fragt sie, wenn sie geht: 'Wirst du wiederkommen?' Sie sagt: 'Warum, Verehrte, die du sonst Gutes sprichst,
89. 'sprichst du jetzt ungehörig?' Nachdem sie dies gesagt hat, beteiligt sie sich weiter an der Unterhaltung: 'Ich handele nicht nach deinen Worten, ist doch dieser Herr ganz heimtückisch!'³⁵⁸
90. Und sie lacht über seine Leidenschaft,³⁵⁹ nachdem sie davon gehört hat, und lacht immer mehr. Gewahrt die Botin an der Miene der Frau die Offenbarung,³⁶⁰ händige sie ihr ein Geschenk aus.³⁶¹
91. Sie steigere immer mehr die Geschenke von Betel, Blumen und Salben. Nachdem so das Wohlwollen der betreffenden Frau bewirkt worden ist, mag die Botin anläßlich eines Zwischenfalls, einer Hochzeit, eines Festes,
92. in einem Garten, bei einem Gelage, auf einer Reise, beim Hinabstieg ins Bad, beim Ausbruch einer Feuersbrunst, bei einer im voraus vermuteten Gefahrensituation oder auch in ihrem³⁶² eigenen Haus die beiden zu-

³⁵⁵ Oder: 'Veränderung, Verwandlung'.

³⁵⁶ Name einer mythischen Geliebten des vedischen Hauptgottes Indra.

³⁵⁷ Geschildert wird offenbar ein Optimum der Reaktion.

³⁵⁸ Diese Stelle ist ungenau überliefert; zudem fehlt das *iti* als Schluß der direkten Rede.

³⁵⁹ Vgl. Anm. 355.

³⁶⁰ Nämlich ihrer Gefühle.

³⁶¹ Gemeint ist: Sie überbringe ihr ein Geschenk der Verehrers.

³⁶² Nämlich der Liebesbotin.

sammenführen.³⁶³

93. Eine Botin, die das Anliegen des Liebhabers begriffen hat und aus eigenem Entschluß die Sache erledigt, ist eine Bevollmächtigte. Die die Angelegenheit aus den Anzeichen deutet
94. und nur den Rest selbst erledigt, eine solche wird als Teilbevollmächtigte bezeichnet. Die aber für die beiden Vereinten als Überbringerin von Nachrichten tätig ist, gilt als Briefträgerin.
95. Eine, die auf Veranlassung einer anderen einen Botengang zum Liebhaber unternimmt, dort aber, zum eigenen Nutzen wirkend, ihre persönlichen Tugenden und Gefühle offenbart, ist eine selbstsüchtige Botin.
96. Nachdem die Botin das Vertrauen der einfältigen Gattin mit Eifer erworben und sie³⁶⁴ insgeheim nach den Anzeichen seiner Begierde und dergleichen befragt hat, mag sie die Begehrte dem Liebhaber zuführen.³⁶⁵
97. Ferner kann der Liebhaber seine eigene Gattin einspannen und sie mit der umworbenen Frau zusammenbringen, damit sie dieser sein weltmännisches Wesen offenbart. Eine solche nennt man 'die Gattin als Botin'.
98. Man kann auch stets ein Mädchen oder eine Dienerin, denen jede Schlechtigkeit fremd ist,³⁶⁶ entsenden. Dann schreibe der Freier eine in einem Kranz oder Ohrschmuck versteckte Nachricht.
99. Wird ein solches Mädchen, das nichts darüber weiß, was zu tun und nicht zu tun ist, mit Briefen entsandt, die auf Schmucksachen und Blättern angebrachte Nägel- und Zahnspuren enthalten, so ist diese eine 'stumme Botin'.
100. Wenn von irgendeiner Einfältigen³⁶⁷ etwas Doppelsinniges oder zuvor Vereinbartes oder für andere schwer Verständliches mitgeteilt wird, so ist diese eine 'Windbotin'.
101. Auf diese Weise kann auch die Geliebte bedenkenlos eine Antwort geben. Eine Sklavin, Freundin, Jungfrau, Witwe, Wahrsagerin und eine

³⁶³ Nun beginnt eine Klassifikation der verschiedenen Typen von Liebesbotinnen. Vgl. *Kāmasūtra* V,4,45ff.

³⁶⁴ Anscheinend die Gattin. Doch siehe die nächste Anmerkung.

³⁶⁵ Diese Strophe ist korrupt überliefert, was bei der als Quelle dienenden Stelle *Kāmasūtra* V,4,58f. ebenfalls zutrifft.

³⁶⁶ Gemeint ist, daß diese Botinnen nichts von ihrem wirklichen Auftrag ahnen.

³⁶⁷ Die anscheinend nicht merkt, daß sie eine kodierte Botschaft übermittelt. Oder liegt etwa eine Ironie vor?

Kammerzofe,

102. eine Kranzbinderin, Parfümhändlerin, Waschfrau, Bettelnonne³⁶⁸ und Krämerin, Hebamme und Nachbarin – diese sind für das Botenamt zuverlässig geeignet.³⁶⁹
103. Auch Papageien, Predigerkrähen³⁷⁰ usw. oder auch Bilder dienen den listenreichen Liebhabern als Boten. Einige dringen,³⁷¹ nachdem sie sich von Sklavinnen über geeignete Möglichkeiten haben berichten lassen, auch in den Harem ein. Die dies tun, werden aber in beiden Welten³⁷² getadelt. Ihr Tun³⁷³ wird daher hier nicht besprochen.³⁷⁴

XIV. Der Abschnitt vom Gefügigmachen

1. Nachdem ich die verschiedenartigen Lehrbücher der Liebeskunst durchgesehen habe, wie den *Śabdārṇava*³⁷⁵ mit dem *Uḍḍīśa*,³⁷⁶ die vollständige *Haramekhālā*,³⁷⁷ das Hundert der *Yogāvalīs*,³⁷⁸ und nachdem ich die drei Sammlungen zur Medizin³⁷⁹ sowie die śivaitischen *Āgamas*³⁸⁰ in vielfa-

³⁶⁸ Vgl. Anm. 280.

³⁶⁹ Die in *Kāmasūtra* V,4,63 genannten Berufsgruppen machen nur einen Teil der hier aufgezählten aus.

³⁷⁰ Das Abrichten dieser Vögel zum Sprechen war eine im alten Indien sehr beliebte Beschäftigung.

³⁷¹ Es ist *praviśanti* statt *pravaśanti* zu lesen.

³⁷² Auf der Erde und im Himmel.

³⁷³ Etwas frei übersetzt.

³⁷⁴ Auch hier hat sich Vātsyāyana als weniger skrupulös erwiesen und das Eindringen in den Harem in *Kāmasūtra* V,6 ausführlich dargestellt.

³⁷⁵ Wörtl.: 'Meer der Worte', Titel eines Wörterverzeichnisses.

³⁷⁶ Titel eines Zauberbuches des Tantra (s. auch Anm. 380).

³⁷⁷ Name von mindestens zwei Werken, in Sanskrit bzw. Prakrit, die unter anderem Medizinisches und Verwandtes enthalten. Welches dieser Werke hier gemeint ist, ist unklar.

³⁷⁸ Schriften, die sich mit der Behexung von Personen befassen.

³⁷⁹ Das waren damals die *Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdayasaṃhitā* des Vāgbhaṭa, die *Carakasamhitā* und die *Suśrutasamhitā*.

³⁸⁰ Bezeichnung einer Gruppe von Schriften der hinduistisch-sektarischen Tantra-Literatur (2. Hälfte des 1. Jahrtausends u.Z.). Unter den śivaitischen *Āgamas* befanden sich

- cher Weise berücksichtigt habe, werde ich den von vielen Leuten geschätzten Abschnitt über die Verzauberung in Kurzfassung besprechen.
2. Sind zwei junge Leute ineinander verliebt, ist der Liebesgott ihr Schmuck und betreibt das Spiel der Wollust. Da man die Verliebtheit in die ursprüngliche und die übertragene einteilt,³⁸¹ ist sie von zweifacher Art.
 3. Ebenso machten sich die Alten³⁸² die Auffassung zu eigen, daß auch die Bestandteile der Liebe, wie Leidenschaft usw., von zweifacher Art sind. Bezogen auf diese Bestandteile werden nun die Arten der Zaubersprüche und Pflanzenextrakte besprochen.
 4. Wenn man die Kāmeśvara³⁸³-Formel hunderttausendmal murmelt und den zehnten Teil dieser Zahl an Kimśuka³⁸⁴-Blüten darbringt, ist sie wirksam: Wie ein Lichtstrahl dringt sie beim Ausatmen in die Scheide,
 5. geht zum Kopflotos³⁸⁵ und wandert zum nektarträufelnden Liebeslotos. Wenn man an sie denkt, läßt sie die Geliebte feucht werden, unterjocht sie, zieht sie heran.
 6. Am Anfang steht 'Kāmeśvara', damit verbunden folgt der Name der zu Erobernden im Akkusativ, dann die Formel: 'Bring sie her! Versetze sie in Willfährigkeit!', danach die Silben *om* und *kṣam*.
 7. Wenn man das zehntausendmal murmelt und den zehnten Teil dieser Zahl an Kimśuka- oder Kadamba³⁸⁶-Blüten darbringt, zieht dies, wenn in der Nacht ausgeführt und gemurmelt, die Schöne an.
 8. Wird die Kuṇḍalinī-Formel³⁸⁷ in der Brust, an der Stirn und in der Schamgegend der Geliebten vorgestellt, so zieht sie diese fest an, unterjocht sie, läßt sie feucht werden, die feuergestaltige Formel.

mehrere Werke über Chemie, Pharmakologie und Medizin.

³⁸¹ Gemeint ist, daß die Liebe spontan von innen heraus entstehen oder durch Zaubermittel u.dgl. bewirkt werden kann.

³⁸² Gemeint sind die alten Lehrer.

³⁸³ Wörtl.: 'Gott der Liebe'.

³⁸⁴ Der Baum *Butea frondosa*; die Blüten sind rot.

³⁸⁵ 'Lotos' bezeichnet gemäß der tantrischen Lehre einen Plexus im Körper.

³⁸⁶ Der Baum *Nauclea cadamba*; die Blüten sind orangefarben.

³⁸⁷ Diese lautet nach dem Kommentar: 'om, hrīm, Verehrung!'.

9. Man wird vor seinen Geliebten³⁸⁸ zum Liebesgott, in der Sprache wie Vācaspati,³⁸⁹ in der Fortbewegung wie Garuḍa,³⁹⁰ leibhaftig der Liebesgott, wenn man diese Formel siebenhunderttausendmal murmelt.
10. Zum Erfolg führt der alles Gelingen bewirkende, mit dem Nasal versehene achte Laut³⁹¹ durch zwanzigtausendmaliges Murmeln und durch Darbringung der Hälfte dieser Zahl an Pāṭalā³⁹²-Blüten.
11. Wenn in gelber, schwarzer, weißer und roter Farbe am Hals, am Herzen, im Gesicht und am Geschlechtsteil³⁹³ gedacht, macht diese Formel einen Gebieter, einen Feind, die Göttin der Beredsamkeit und auch die Geliebte willfährig.
12. 'Om! Rausch! Rausch! Berausche! Berausche! O Flamingo!³⁹⁴ Om! Hrīm! Die Wohlgestaltete! Heil!' Dies ist durch zehntausendmaliges Murmeln und durch Darbringung des zehnten Teils dieser Zahl an rotgelben Blüten³⁹⁵ auszuführen.
13. Wenn diese Formel rezitiert wird, wobei man den Ringfinger der linken Hand auf die Schamgegend der Frau legt, läßt sie diese unverzüglich feucht werden wie einen ausgepreßten Zuckerrohrstengel.
14. Mit hunderttausendmaligem Murmeln, begleitet von der Darbringung des zehnten Teils dieser Zahl an Sesamkörnern, wird die Herzlinienformel³⁹⁶ vollzogen. Selbst Durgā³⁹⁷ verführt man, wenn das Murmeln zur Zeit des Sonnenaufgangs geschieht.
15. Wenn man aber diese Formel zweihunderttausendmal murmelt, begleitet

³⁸⁸ Femininform!

³⁸⁹ 'Herr der Rede', Beiname des Gottes Brhaspati.

³⁹⁰ Name des mythischen Vogelwesens, auf dem der Gott Viṣṇu reitet.

³⁹¹ Der achte Laut des Sanskrit-Alphabets ist das o; durch die Nasalierung entsteht das berühmte om.

³⁹² Der Baum *Bignonia suaveolens*; die Blüten sind blaßrosa.

³⁹³ Der zu behexenden Person.

³⁹⁴ Ursprünglich bedeutete *haṃsa* 'Gans', später bezeichnet es Flamingo, Schwan und verschiedene Entenvögel, in der philosophischen Literatur aber auch die Seele, auf die hier gleichfalls angespielt sein könnte.

³⁹⁵ Damit sind offensichtlich Blüten vom Aśoka-Baum (*Jonesia asoka*) gemeint.

³⁹⁶ Sie lautet: om hr̥llekhe maṇidravo kāmārūpiṇī svāhā.

³⁹⁷ Gattin des Gottes Śiva, die in mehreren Aspekten auftritt.

- von der Darbringung von halb soviel Kadamba³⁹⁸-Blüten und still die Silbe *ma*³⁹⁹ murmelt, bringt man auch eine treue Ehefrau schnell in seine Gewalt.
16. Wenn man eine Röhre mit Grassamen und dem von einem Mädchen zerstoßenen Gallenstein⁴⁰⁰ des Rindes auf dem Kopf der Geliebten ausstreut und die Sieben-Silben-Formel⁴⁰¹ hersagt, bezwingt man sie auf der Stelle.
 17. ‘*Om! Cāmuṇḍā*⁴⁰²! *Hulu hulu! Culu culu!* Bring die Frau N.N. in meine Gewalt! Heil!’ Wenn man dies siebenmal zusammen mit einer Gabe von Betel⁴⁰³ hersagt, bezwingt man sie.
 18. ‘*Om! Cāmuṇḍā!* Siege im Rachen! Betöre! Bring die Frau N.N. in meine Gewalt! Heil!’ Wenn man dies, mit *om* beginnend, zusammen mit einer Blumengabe⁴⁰⁴ hersagt, ergibt sich diese Willfährigmachung.⁴⁰⁵
 19. Ein auf den Kopf einer Leiche gelegter Kranz bzw. Knochen eines Jīvañjīvaka⁴⁰⁶ und eines Pfauen, sodann ein mit der linken Hand ergriffenes, vom Wind emporgetriebenes Blatt:
 20. Ein Pulver aus diesen Substanzen, gestreut auf Kopf und Füße, bezwingt Mann und Frau; ebenso, wenn eine weiße Blüte mit der Kṛṣṇākṣi-Formel⁴⁰⁷ usw. überreicht wird.

³⁹⁸ Vgl. Vers 7.

³⁹⁹ Im Text steht *tattva*, eine mystische Umschreibung der Zahl 25; der Buchstabe *m* (mit inhärentem *a*) aber ist der fünfundzwanzigste im Sanskrit-Alphabet.

⁴⁰⁰ Dieser lieferte einen gelben Farbstoff.

⁴⁰¹ Diese Silben lauten: *om krom hrīm śrīm dham svāhā*.

⁴⁰² Bezeichnung einer Form der Durgā (s. Anm. 397).

⁴⁰³ Da der Betel hier mit *dāna* ‘Gabe’ und nicht mit *homa* ‘Opferspende’ verknüpft ist, soll er vermutlich nicht dargebracht, sondern der zu gewinnenden Frau überreicht werden.

⁴⁰⁴ Vgl. die vorhergehende Anm.

⁴⁰⁵ Nach der Erörterung der Zaubersprüche folgt nunmehr hauptsächlich die Aufzählung (magischer) Aphrodisiaka.

⁴⁰⁶ Eine Hühnerart.

⁴⁰⁷ Diese lautet: *om kṛṣṇākṣi kṛṣṇamukhi kṛṣṇasarvāṅgi yasya haste puṣpaṃ dāsyāmi tam avaśyam vaśam ānaya yadi na bhavati tadā brahmahā rudro bhavati* ‘Om! O Schwarz-äugige, Schwarzmündige, Schwarzgliedrige! In wessen Hand ich die Blüte legen werde, den bring durchaus in meine Gewalt! Wenn er nicht willfährig wird, dann wird er zum Brahmanenmörder (vgl. Anm. 298), zu Rudra.’

21. Der mit Zaubermacht versehene Śambhu,⁴⁰⁸ mit der Kuṇḍalinī⁴⁰⁹ geschmückt und nasaliert, bezwingt, wenn achtundzwanzigmal gemurmelt, die Schöne beim Verkehr.
22. Wenn man in Gedanken die kristallförmige Silbe *va* auf das Antlitz des Sonnenschirms des Liebesgottes⁴¹⁰ richtet und mit dem Feuerkeim⁴¹¹ an den Penis denkt, bezwingt man die Schöne beim Verkehr,
23. ebenso, wenn man sich dem linken Körperteil der Schönäugigen, wobei der Atem nach links gerichtet ist, mit der linken Hand intensiv widmet: der Brust, dem Schenkel, der Hand und der Stätte der Liebe.⁴¹²
24. Wird eine Frau mit einem Pulver bestreut, das aus einem vom Wind emporgewirbelten Blatt eines Totenkranzes, dem Flügelpaar einer Biene und zwei Zähnen eines Königs zubereitet wurde, so wird sie mit Sicherheit feucht.
25. Wird die Frau mit einem Holzstück geschlagen, das man einem Scheiterhaufen entnommen hat, auf dem ein Ehepaar gemeinsam verbrannt worden ist, so folgt sie dem Betreffenden alsbald nach.
26. Eine Frau, deren Name auf die Knochenplatte eines aus der südlichen Himmelsgegend stammenden tollen Hundes mit Kohle aus einem Scheiterhaufen geschrieben und erhitzt wird, naht sich mit Sicherheit.
27. Hat man die Mohalatā,⁴¹³ die Girikaṇī,⁴¹⁴ die Madantikā,⁴¹⁵ die Jālikā,⁴¹⁶

⁴⁰⁸ Beiname von Göttern, hier des Śiva. Im weiteren Sinne der Zauberspruch *om hrīm namah puraskṛtya śambhave* 'Om! Hrīm! Verehrung vor allem dem Śambhu!'

⁴⁰⁹ Vgl. Anm. 387.

⁴¹⁰ Die Clitoris. Vgl. Anm. 13.

⁴¹¹ Unter diesem verstand man die Silbe *ra*.

⁴¹² Diese Vorschrift ist auszuführen, indem der Mann rechts von der Frau, ihr zugewandt, liegt und seinen linken Arm unter ihrem Hals hindurchführt.

⁴¹³ Eine Stechapfelart (*Datura*).

⁴¹⁴ Eine Pflanzenart (*Clitoria ternatea*), Schmetterlingserbse.

⁴¹⁵ Ein immerfeuchtes Kraut.

⁴¹⁶ Eine Pflanzenart, wohl identisch mit Koṣātakī (*Trichosanthes dioica* oder *Luffa acutangula*).

- die Avāḱpuṣpī,⁴¹⁷ die Rudrajaṭā⁴¹⁸ und die Kṛtāñjali⁴¹⁹ mit Butterschmalz und Honig zusammengetan
28. und daraus ein Stirnzeichen bereitet, bekommt man die Dreiwelt⁴²⁰ in seine Gewalt. Oder man bringt mit Hilfe dieser Stoffe, die mit dem Schmutz des eigenen Körpers versetzt und einem Getränk oder dem Essen beigemischt wurden, alles in seine Gewalt.
29. Willfährig macht auch das Pulver eines Wurms und eines Krähenbeins, oder vom Saft eines Muni⁴²¹-Blattes durchtränkter Borax, der mit dem Schmutz des eigenen Körpers versetzt wurde.
30. Wird das Pulver einer Fliege mitsamt dem Staub von der Brust einer weißen Hündin und vermischt mit dem eigenen Samen verabreicht, so macht man sich sogar die Gattin des Vasiṣṭha⁴²² gefügig.
31. Bereitet man aus dem Bruntsaft eines Elefanten, weißen Senfkörnern, gelbroten Karavīra⁴²³-Blüten, gemischt mit Schmelzbutter, der Sitaravi⁴²⁴-Wurzel, der Viśṛṅgī,⁴²⁵ Honig und dem an fünf Körperstellen entstandenen Schmutz⁴²⁶
32. ein Stirnzeichen, so bekommt man, wenn man dies mit abgestandenem Wasser verrührt, die Dreiwelt in seine Gewalt. Wenn in ein Getränk oder ins Essen gegeben, ist es hochwirksam zum Gefügigmachen.
33. Oder man verwendet Stücke der Vajrī,⁴²⁷ mit rotem Arsenik und Schwefelblüte innig vermischt und mit zuerst getrocknetem, dann pulverisier-

⁴¹⁷ Eine Umbellifere (*Anethum Sowa*), Dillart.

⁴¹⁸ Eine Schlingpflanze.

⁴¹⁹ Eine Pflanzenart, vielleicht identisch mit Lajjālu (*Mimosa pudica*).

⁴²⁰ Himmel, Erde und Luftraum bzw. Unterwelt.

⁴²¹ Bezeichnung verschiedener Baumarten.

⁴²² Name eines berühmten alten Weisen und Sehers, Verfassers des 7. Buches der *Rg-vedasamhitā*.

⁴²³ Die Pflanze *Nerium odorum*.

⁴²⁴ Sitaravi ist der Baum *Calotropis gigantea alba*.

⁴²⁵ Nicht identifizierbare Pflanzenart. Statt *viśṛṅgī* ist vielleicht *aviśṛṅga* 'Schafhorn' zu lesen.

⁴²⁶ Gemeint sind die Sekrete der Körperöffnungen, die von den Kommentatoren jedoch unterschiedlich angegeben werden.

⁴²⁷ Eine Wolfsmilchart (*Euphorbia neriifolia* oder *E. antiquorum*).

- tem Honig verklebt, als Salbe für den Penis.
34. Ein Mädchen, auf dessen Kopf man dieses Pulver, vermischt mit dem Kot eines roten⁴²⁸ Affen, streut, eine solche mit begehrenswerten Gliedern vermag auch ein unschöner Mann zu heiraten.
 35. Das Räuchern aller Gliedmaßen mit einem Gemisch aus Vata,⁴²⁹ Yuvati,⁴³⁰ Sandelholz, kleinen Kardamomen, Baumharz,⁴³¹ Kuṣṭha⁴³² und weißen Senfkörnern ermöglicht das Gefügigmachen aller Menschen.
 36. Ebenso wirkt ein mit Blut aus dem Ringfinger vermisches Pulver aus Kuṣṭha, Blättern des blauen Lotos, Bienenflügeln, der Tagara⁴³³-Wurzel und dem Bein einer Krähe,⁴³⁴ wenn es auf den Kopf gestreut wird.
 37. Öl, zubereitet aus einer Paste der Blätter des blauen Lotos, des Daṇḍot-pala,⁴³⁵ der Punarnavā⁴³⁶ und der Śārivā,⁴³⁷ als Augensalbe verwendet, gilt als hochwirksam zum Gefügigmachen.
 38. Das Öl, das man aus den Augen, der Nase, dem Herzen, dem Penis und der Zunge eines von einem Elefanten niedergestoßenen Mannes in der Zeit, während der Mond im Sternbild Puṣya⁴³⁸ steht,⁴³⁹ nachts in einem Tempel zubereitet,
 39. führt den Namen 'Stachel des Liebesgottes' und gilt bei den Weisen als mächtiges Verführungsmittel. Durch Anwendung in Speisen, Getränken

⁴²⁸ Gemeint sind Gesicht bzw. Gesäß des Affen.

⁴²⁹ Wohl identisch mit dem Nyagrodha-Baum (*Ficus indica*).

⁴³⁰ Name einer Gelbwurzelart (*Curcuma longa*), vielleicht aber auch identisch mit einer Hirseart (*Panicum italicum*).

⁴³¹ Nämlich von *Vatica robusta*.

⁴³² Name einer Pflanzenart (*Saussurea lappa*).

⁴³³ Name einer Pflanzenart mit aromatischem Wurzelstock (*Tabernaemontana coronaria*).

⁴³⁴ Vgl. XIV,29; *kākajāṅghā* könnte aber auch der Name einer Pflanze sein.

⁴³⁵ Name einer Pflanzenart, identisch mit Sahadevī (*Sida cordifolia* oder *Vernonia cinerea*).

⁴³⁶ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Boerhavia procumbens*).

⁴³⁷ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Ichnocarpus frutescens*).

⁴³⁸ Dieses Sternbild umfaßt die Sterne γ, δ und θ Cancri.

⁴³⁹ Das entspricht etwa der zweiten Hälfte des Dezember und der ersten Hälfte des Januar.

- und bei Berührungen bringt es alles in die Gewalt.⁴⁴⁰
40. Räucherwerk aus Vasu,⁴⁴¹ Kuṣṭha,⁴⁴² Sandelholz, Safran und dem Blüten-saft des Surataru⁴⁴³ erzeugt, wird als 'Wunschstein'⁴⁴⁴ bezeichnet und ist hochwirksam zum Gefügigmachen.
 41. Der Verfasser der *Haramekhalā* betrachtet dieses Räucherwerk beim Verkehr mit der Geliebten, bei der Brautwahl und beim Verkauf von Handelswaren als Erfolg bewirkend.
 42. Wenn man in den von den Eingeweiden befreiten Bauch eines Sperlings seinen eigenen Samen einbringt, dann Urin hinzugibt, aus zwei Schüs-seln ein Gefäß⁴⁴⁵ bildet,
 43. dieses für sieben Tage auf einen Kochherd setzt, dann daraus eine Pille formt und diese mit dem Essen verabreicht, dann bezwingt man selbst die Gattin des Vasiṣṭha⁴⁴⁶ schnell und zieht sie an sich.
 44. Wenn man einen leinenen Docht mit einem Öl aus Gada⁴⁴⁷-Blättern, Tālīsa,⁴⁴⁸ Tagara⁴⁴⁹ und weißen Senfkörnern einreibt und damit in einem Mönnerschädel eine Rußsalbe anrichtet,
 45. betört diese, an die Augen junger Frauen gebracht, sogar die Gemüter von Weisen.
 46. Eine Frau, die aus einem Gallenstein des Rindes, vermischt mit ihrem eigenen Menstrualblut, sich ein Stirnzeichen anfertigt, macht sich die Welt zu Willen; dabei ist an ihr durchaus nichts Wundersames.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁰ Desjenigen, der diese magische Substanz appliziert.

⁴⁴¹ Name eines Baumes, der weißen Varietät von *Calotropis gigantea* (s. Anm. 424).

⁴⁴² S. Vers 35.

⁴⁴³ Name einer Nadelbaumart, wohl identisch mit Devadāru (*Pinus deodora*).

⁴⁴⁴ Eine Art Stein der Weisen.

⁴⁴⁵ Also eine Art Römertopf.

⁴⁴⁶ Vgl. Vers 30.

⁴⁴⁷ Name mehrerer Pflanzenarten.

⁴⁴⁸ Eine Tannenart (*Abies webbiana*).

⁴⁴⁹ S. Vers 36.

⁴⁵⁰ Dieser letzte Satzteil ist nicht ganz klar, doch soll wohl ausgedrückt werden, daß die Zauberkraft des empfohlenen Mittels, nicht etwa die Persönlichkeit der Frau, zu dem versprochenen Resultat führt.

47. Eine Frau, die sich einer Sahadevī⁴⁵¹-Wurzel während einer Verfinsternung⁴⁵² bemächtigt und sie mit dem Gallenstein des Rindes zermahlen hat, und die sich daraus ein Stirnzeichen anfertigt, bringt selbst eine Schar von Respektspersonen in Verwirrung.
48. Wenn man einem Brahmanen Milchreis zu essen gegeben hat und dann die von einem Mädchen zermahlene Wurzel der Sitabalā⁴⁵³ im Essen verabreicht, ist dies die wirksamste Beseitigung von Abneigung.
49. Wenn man mit Eiern aus einem Spinnennetz vom Jaṭi⁴⁵⁴ und Pippala,⁴⁵⁵ deren Wurzeln miteinander verflochten sind, den Busen einer Schönäugigen einreibt und sie fest umarmt, vertreibt man ihre Abneigung.
50. Weiße Dūrvā,⁴⁵⁶ weiße Br̥hatī⁴⁵⁷ und weiße Girikarnī⁴⁵⁸ mitsamt Wurzel und Blüte bringen, wenn mit Betel gereicht, Mann und Frau zur Unterwerfung.
51. Ein Kamelknochen, der mit dem Saft von Bhṛṅgapakṣa⁴⁵⁹ einundzwanzigmal getränkt, dann in einem Behälter verbrannt, danach zu gleichen Teilen mit Salbe aus Erdharz vermischt und gründlich pulverisiert,
52. sodann in die Röhre eines anderen Kamelknochens gefüllt und mit einem Spachtel aus Kamelknochen aufgetragen wurde – diese Augensalbe bringt restlos alle Menschen zum Gehorsam aufs Wort.
53. Wer unmittelbar bei Beendigung des Geschlechtsverkehrs seinen Samen auf den linken Fuß oder auf das Herz der Schönäugigen spritzt, wird der von ihr am meisten Geliebte.

⁴⁵¹ S. Anm. 435.

⁴⁵² Es bleibt offen, ob eine Sonnen- oder Mondfinsternis gemeint ist.

⁴⁵³ Name mehrerer Pflanzenarten (Sahadevī, Tagara u.a.).

⁴⁵⁴ Name eines mit Plakṣa identischen Baumes (*Ficus infectoria*).

⁴⁵⁵ Name eines mit Aśvattha identischen Baumes (*Ficus religiosa*).

⁴⁵⁶ Name eines Hirsegrases (*Panicum dactylon*).

⁴⁵⁷ Name eines Nachtschattengewächses (*Solanum indicum*).

⁴⁵⁸ S. Vers 27.

⁴⁵⁹ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Eclipta prostrata*).

XV. Der sämtliche Zaubermittel beinhaltende Abschnitt

1. Der Samen von Bhava,⁴⁶⁰ dazu Kampfer und Borax oder Staubfäden und Mark von Madhu⁴⁶¹ oder zerstampfte Ghoṣa⁴⁶²-Früchte oder Saft von Daṇḍotpala,⁴⁶³
2. oder innige Mischung mit Kampfer, oder allein, oder nur Borax oder Ghoṣa-Pulver allein –
3. wenn man dies zusammen mit Honig und Tamarinde sowie Melasse in die rauhe⁴⁶⁴ Scheide einer Frau einführt, oder wenn man sich damit den Penis einreibt, regt man den Samenfluß an.⁴⁶⁵
4. Dies sind die zehn als wirkungsvoll bekannten Rezepte für den Samenfluß. Sowohl für den Samenfluß als auch um eine Frau zu erobern und an sich zu fesseln, verwende man noch die folgenden sechs Rezepte.
5. Lodhra,⁴⁶⁶ das Fruchtmarmelade der Śrī,⁴⁶⁷ Elefantenbrunstsafte und Sinduvāra⁴⁶⁸ zu gleichen Teilen, oder Honig, Māgadhikā,⁴⁶⁹ Dhattūraka,⁴⁷⁰ Lodhra und schwarzer Pfeffer,
6. oder der Penis eines roten⁴⁷¹ Affen zusammen mit Kampfer, Gold, Honig und Quecksilber, oder Pferdespeichel, Krapp, weiße Senfkörner und Muskatblüte,
7. oder der in braune Butter geriebene Penis eines roten Affen allein oder zusammen mit Honig, Steinsalz und Kuckuckskot – sämtlich zur Ein-

⁴⁶⁰ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Dillenia indica*).

⁴⁶¹ Hier: Name einer Pflanzenart (*Bassia latifolia*).

⁴⁶² Name einer Pflanzengattung (*Luffa*).

⁴⁶³ S. XIV,37.

⁴⁶⁴ Kokkoka meint den Gegensatz von schlüpfrig.

⁴⁶⁵ Kokkoka beginnt dieses Kapitel mit Rezepten u.a. zur Steigerung des Samenflusses bzw. der Scheidenfeuchtigkeit.

⁴⁶⁶ Name einer Baumart (*Symplocos racemosa*).

⁴⁶⁷ Name einer Baumart (*Aegle marmelos*), eine Rutacee, identisch mit Bilva.

⁴⁶⁸ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Vitex negundo*).

⁴⁶⁹ Die Pfefferart *Piper longum*.

⁴⁷⁰ Eine Stechapfelart (*Datura innoxia* oder *D. alba*).

⁴⁷¹ S. XIV,34.

reibung des Penis.

8. Wenn man eine unter dem Sternbild Puṣya⁴⁷² herausgerissene Rudra-jaṭā⁴⁷³-Wurzel zerkaut hat und danach einer Frau sacht in beide Ohren bläst, erlangt sie in demselben Augenblick noch einen Orgasmus.⁴⁷⁴
9. Wenn man Nāgabalā,⁴⁷⁵ Śatāvarī,⁴⁷⁶ Vānarī,⁴⁷⁷ Gokṣuraka⁴⁷⁸ und Kṣuraka⁴⁷⁹ mit Balā⁴⁸⁰ und zu gleichen Teilen Milch nachts trinkt, erlangt man beim Beischlaf die Stärke eines Ringkämpfers.
10. Wenn man vom Süßholz ein Karṣa⁴⁸¹ zusammen mit dem gleichen Gewicht von zerlassener Butter und Honig leckt und danach Milch trinkt, erlangt man beim Geschlechtsverkehr höchste Potenz.
11. Wenn man fünfzig Pala⁴⁸² Butter, zu denen die doppelte Menge Zucker, ein Viertel der Menge an Honig und ebenso ein Viertel an Wasser gegeben wurden, lange knetet
12. und daraus zuzüglich eines Viertels der Menge an Weizenmehl einen warmen Brei zubereitet und verzehrt, besiegt man die im Liebesstreitspiel übermütige und tolle Frauenwelt.
13. Wenn man Śatāvarī⁴⁸³ und Schmelzbutter verzehrt, die, mit Māgadhikā⁴⁸⁴ und Honig sowie Zucker angereichert, in der zehnfachen Menge Milch gekocht wurden, wird man zu einem Athleten der Liebeslust.

⁴⁷² S. Anm. 438.

⁴⁷³ S. XIV,27.

⁴⁷⁴ Hiernach beginnt Kokkoka mit der Erörterung von Mitteln für die Potenzsteigerung des Mannes.

⁴⁷⁵ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Sida alba* oder *S. spinosa*).

⁴⁷⁶ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Asparagus racemosus*).

⁴⁷⁷ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Carpopogon pruriens*).

⁴⁷⁸ Auch Gokṣura. Name der Erdstachelnuß (*Tribulus terrestris*).

⁴⁷⁹ Name einer Pflanzenart (wohl *Tribulus terrestris*). Die Unterscheidung von Gokṣuraka und Kṣuraka wird nicht ganz klar. Vielleicht ist mit ersterem *Asteracantha* gemeint.

⁴⁸⁰ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Sida cordifolia*).

⁴⁸¹ Ein Gewichtsmaß, etwa 11 Gramm.

⁴⁸² Ein Gewichtsmaß, das vier Karṣa entsprach.

⁴⁸³ S. Vers 9.

⁴⁸⁴ S. Vers 5.

14. Wer entweder öfters in Milch zubereitete Hoden des Ziegenbocks mit eingemengten Sesamkörnern verzehrt, oder zwei solche Hoden, die mit Schmelzbutter und Milch zubereitet wurden, zusammen mit Salz und Melasse,
15. oder wer Pulver der Vidārikā,⁴⁸⁵ mit dem eigenen Saft angerichtet und mit Butterschmalz und Honig vermengt, oder aus Gokṣura⁴⁸⁶ und Vidārikā hergestelltes Pulver, zusammen mit Zucker,
16. oder wer Pulver der Dhātrī,⁴⁸⁷ mit dem eigenen Saft angerichtet und mit Zucker, Butterschmalz und Honig vermengt, leckt und danach Milch trinkt, der wird selbst durch hundert Frauen nicht befriedigt.
17. Wer einen aus dem Mehl von Gerste, Reis und Bohnen sowie aus der gleichen Menge Weizen und Māgadhī⁴⁸⁸ hergestellten und in Schmelzbutter gebackenen Kuchen verzehrt und dann gezuckerte Milch trinkt,
18. oder wer den Nabel mit den mit Schmelzbutter, Honig und Sahadevī⁴⁸⁹ versetzten Staubfäden der Lotosblüte einreibt, dessen Sinn wird beim Beischlafvergnügen selbst durch hundert Geliebte nicht befriedigt.
19. Wer beim Geschlechtsverkehr die Wurzel der Hodenröhre⁴⁹⁰ mit dem Finger fest zudrückt, den Geist auf andere Gedanken richtet⁴⁹¹ und zwischen dem Ein- und Ausatmen den Atem anhält,⁴⁹² besiegt den Samenfluß.⁴⁹³

⁴⁸⁵ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Hedysarum gangeticum* oder *Ipomoea paniculata*).

⁴⁸⁶ S. Gokṣuraka in Vers 9.

⁴⁸⁷ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Emblica officinalis*).

⁴⁸⁸ Wohl identisch mit Māgadhikā in Vers 13.

⁴⁸⁹ S. Anm. 435.

⁴⁹⁰ Gemeint ist der den Hoden benachbarte Teil der Harnröhre.

⁴⁹¹ Ein sehr probates Mittel, das fast unfehlbar wirkt, jedoch bei gar zu rigoroser Anwendung die Gefahr eines plötzlichen Nachlassens der Erektion mit sich bringt.

⁴⁹² Eine Yoga-Übung, die eine Verminderung der Sauerstoffzufuhr bezweckt.

⁴⁹³ Gemeint ist natürlich der vorzeitige Samenerguß (*ejaculatio praecox*), der den Geschlechtsverkehr äußerst negativ beeinflusst und die Befriedigung der Frau ausschließt. Kokkoka empfiehlt hier und im Folgenden Mittel und Verfahrensweisen, um die Ejakulation hinauszuzögern.

20. Die Wurzel der weißen Śarapuṅkhā,⁴⁹⁴ im Wasser des Vata⁴⁹⁵ pulverisiert und mit dem Samen eines einzelnen Karañjaka⁴⁹⁶ gekaut, bringt den Samenfluß zum Stehen.
21. Wenn man seinen After fest zusammendrückt, besiegt man die Ejakulation, sofern man die Gedanken vom Nabel bis zum Kopf auf die heilige Silbe *om* und den dunkelleibigen Schildkrötengestaltigen⁴⁹⁷ richtet.⁴⁹⁸
22. Die Wurzel der weißen Śarapuṅkhā, verbunden mit flüssigem Quecksilber und mit dem Samen eines einzelnen Karañjaka gekaut, bewirkt eine Hemmung des Samenflusses.
23. Wenn man die Haare, die von der rechten Hand eines Mannes sowie vom Rüssel eines Elefanten und vom Schwanz eines Kameljungen und eines Pferdes stammen, mit dem Zahnbein eines Ebers verknüpft und dieses in der rechten Hand hält, hemmt man ebenfalls den Samenerguß.
24. Ein an die Hüfte gebundener Knochen von der rechten Seite einer schwarzen Katze oder der in den Mund genommene Same der Saptacchada⁴⁹⁹ unterdrückt gleichfalls den Samenerguß.
25. Snuhī,⁵⁰⁰ in Ziegenmilch aufgelöst, und die Lajjālu⁵⁰¹-Wurzel als Fußeinreibung, oder eine Einreibung des Penis mit der in Bocksurin zerstampften Vānarī⁵⁰²-Wurzel,
26. oder in Saffloröl zubereitetes Pulver der Varṣāhū⁵⁰³ zur Einreibung der Füße: Dies sind die Mittel, die ohne Zweifel den Samenerguß unterbinden.
27. Wer mit Büffelschmalz, Sahadevī,⁵⁰⁴ Sesam, Honig und Staubfäden vom

⁴⁹⁴ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Galega purpurea*).

⁴⁹⁵ S. XIV,35.

⁴⁹⁶ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Galedupa indica*).

⁴⁹⁷ Damit ist der Gott Viṣṇu gemeint. Zu seinen verschiedenen Inkarnationen zählen auch die als Kṛṣṇa ('der Schwarze') und als Schildkröte.

⁴⁹⁸ Vgl. allerdings zu dem hier vorgeschlagenen Modus operandi Anm. 491.

⁴⁹⁹ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Alstonia scholaris*).

⁵⁰⁰ Mit Vajrī (wozu s. XIV,33) identische Pflanzenart.

⁵⁰¹ S. Anm. 419.

⁵⁰² So ist statt *vāruṇī* 'Palmbranntwein' zu lesen. Vānarī ist der Name einer Pflanzenart; vgl. Vers 9.

⁵⁰³ Auch Varṣābhū; Name einer Pflanzenart (*Boerhavia procumbens*).

⁵⁰⁴ S. Anm. 435.

- weißen Lotos zu gleichen Teilen sowie mit einem Haussperling den Nabel einreibt, übt die Liebe mit zurückgehaltenen Sinnen aus.⁵⁰⁵
28. Eine Massage mit Sesamöl, Ghoṣa,⁵⁰⁶ Borax, rotem Arsenik, dem Saft von Muskatblättern und Kuṣṭha⁵⁰⁷ vergrößert den Penis beträchtlich, sofern sie sich über sieben Tage erstreckt.
 29. Mit Vajrī,⁵⁰⁸ der Rinde des Granatapfelbaumes, der Frucht der Bṛhatī,⁵⁰⁹ Kuṣṭha, in Verbindung mit Bhallāta⁵¹⁰ zubereitetes Senföl wirkt zusammen mit der sechsfachen Menge Kumbhī⁵¹¹-Saft ebenso.
 30. Ebenso wirkt eine geräucherte Salbe aus Steinsalz, Jalaśūka,⁵¹² Blättern des Kamala,⁵¹³ Vajrī und Bhallāta, mit dem Saft der Bṛhatī zubereitet.
 31. Der Penis gelangt zur Vergrößerung, wenn er zuerst mit Büffeldung eingerieben und dann mit frischer Büffelkuhbutter, versetzt mit Jala-kaṇḍū,⁵¹⁴ Kuṣṭha und Kuhurin behandelt wird.
 32. Eine Salbe aus dem mit Büffeldung, Büffelkuhbutter, Kumbhī,⁵¹⁵ ...⁵¹⁶, Hayagandha⁵¹⁷ und Steinsalz versetzten Kern des Bhallātaka⁵¹⁸ bewirkt eine Vergrößerung des Penis.

⁵⁰⁵ Kokkoka geht nunmehr zu einem anderen Sachgebiet über, nämlich den Rezepturen zur Vergrößerung des Penis. Ein Vergleich mit *Kāmasūtra* VII,2 ergibt, daß Kokkoka auf die Nennung der dort empfohlenen radikalen Prozeduren verzichtet.

⁵⁰⁶ S. Vers 1.

⁵⁰⁷ S. XIV,35.

⁵⁰⁸ S. XIV,33.

⁵⁰⁹ S. XIV,50.

⁵¹⁰ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Semecarpus anacardium*).

⁵¹¹ Name mehrerer Pflanzenarten, meist Euphorbiaceen, u.a. *Croton polyandrum*. Crotonöl ist auch heute noch gebräuchlich.

⁵¹² Name mehrerer Pflanzenarten aus der Gattung *Blyxa*.

⁵¹³ Lotos (*Nelumbium*).

⁵¹⁴ Wohl identisch mit Jalaśūka (im vorigen Vers).

⁵¹⁵ S. Vers 29.

⁵¹⁶ An dieser Stelle ist die Textüberlieferung unsicher.

⁵¹⁷ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Physalis flexuosa*).

⁵¹⁸ Identisch mit Bhallāta (wozu s. Vers 29).

33. Honig, Tagara,⁵¹⁹ weißer Senf, Bṛhatī,⁵²⁰ Kharamañjarī⁵²¹ und Kaṇā⁵²² mit Sesam, vermischt mit Gerste, Kuṣṭha,⁵²³ Pfeffer, Steinsalz, Hayagandha und Bohnen,
34. bewirken bei ständig wiederholter Einreibung⁵²⁴ von unten nach oben mit Sicherheit eine Zunahme des Brüstepaares, der Ohrläppchen, des Penis und der Schultern.
35. Senföl, zubereitet aus einer Paste von Bhallātaka,⁵²⁵ der Frucht der Bṛhatī⁵²⁶ und der Frucht des Granatapfelbaumes, macht in Form einer Einreibung den Penis dem eines Hengstes ähnlich.
36. Wenn man in einer Tüte Lotosblätter, Bhallātaka und frisches, dunkles Salz verbrennt und⁵²⁷ im Saft reifer Bṛhatī-Früchte verrührt
37. und damit den zuvor mit dem Dung einer Büffelkuh behandelten Penis mehrfach einreibt, wird dieser wie ein Stößel, der den Stolz einer liebbestollen Schar junger Frauen zerbricht.
38. Wenn man mit der Siṃhī⁵²⁸-Frucht, Bhallātaka, Lotosblättern, Steinsalz, Śaivāla⁵²⁹-Pflanzen und frischer Büffelkuhbutter⁵³⁰ vermischt und sieben Tage lang stehen gelassene
39. Wurzeln des Hayagandha⁵³¹ den zuvor mit Büffeldung eingeriebenen Penis behandelt, wird dieser mit Sicherheit im Vergleich dazu das männliche Glied eines Esels geringfügig erscheinen lassen.

⁵¹⁹ S. XIV,36.

⁵²⁰ S. XIV,50.

⁵²¹ Name einer mit Apāmārga identischen Pflanzenart (*Achyranthes aspera*) aus der Familie der Amarantaceen.

⁵²² Die Pfefferart *Piper longum*.

⁵²³ S. XIV,35.

⁵²⁴ Es ist *unmardana* statt *unmadana* zu lesen.

⁵²⁵ S. Vers 32.

⁵²⁶ S. XIV,50.

⁵²⁷ Zu ergänzen ist: 'die Asche'.

⁵²⁸ Name mehrerer Pflanzenarten aus der Gattung *Solanum*.

⁵²⁹ Name mehrerer Pflanzenarten aus der Gattung *Blyxa*.

⁵³⁰ Statt *māṣi*° ist *mahiṣi*° zu lesen.

⁵³¹ S. Vers 32.

40. Frische Büffelbutter, vermischt mit einer mit Hilfe von Goldwasser geglätteten Hayagandha-Wurzel, aufbewahrt in einer von den Samenker-
nen befreiten Frucht des Kanaka⁵³² –
41. ein zuvor mit Kuhdung intensiv gesalbter und danach mit dieser Mi-
schung eingeriebener Penis wird dem Glied des Hengstes ähnlich und
wilden Frauen⁵³³ lieb.⁵³⁴
42. Eine Scheidensalbung mit Zimtblättern, Safran und Kunaṭī,⁵³⁵ oder mit
Gaja,⁵³⁶ Zimtblättern, Tālisa⁵³⁷ und Tagara⁵³⁸-Wurzelstöcken, oder mit
Zimtblättern, Karikesara,⁵³⁹ Māmsī,⁵⁴⁰ Rohita,⁵⁴¹ Erdharz, Safflor und
Tagara,
43. oder mit rotem Sandel,⁵⁴² Galle, Kaṇā,⁵⁴³ Schmelzbutter, reiner Augen-
salbe und Steinsalz erzeugt ohne Zweifel höchstes Wonnegefühl.
44. Ebenso bewirkt mit den fünf Gliedern⁵⁴⁴ des Granatapfelbaumes oder mit
Jasminblüten zubereitetes Öl von weißem Senf, auf die Schamteile ge-
bracht, Wonnegefühl.

⁵³² Bezeichnung des Stechapfels (*Datura stramonium*).

⁵³³ Als Beispiel führt der Kommentator die Frauen vom Hastinī-Typ (vgl. I,18f.) an.

⁵³⁴ Nunmehr geht Kokkoka zur Behandlung vaginal anzuwendender Rezepturen über.

⁵³⁵ Es kann sowohl eine Pflanzenart (*Crocus sativus*) als auch roter Arsenik gemeint sein.

⁵³⁶ Name mehrerer Pflanzenarten aus der Gattung *Mesua*.

⁵³⁷ S. XIV,44.

⁵³⁸ S. XIV,36.

⁵³⁹ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Mesua roxburghii*).

⁵⁴⁰ Bezeichnung der Narde (*Nardostachys jatamansi*).

⁵⁴¹ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Andersonia rohitaka*).

⁵⁴² Ergänzung dieses Wortes nach dem Kommentar.

⁵⁴³ S. Vers 33.

⁵⁴⁴ Nämlich Wurzel, Rinde, Blätter, Blüten und Frucht.

45. Gada,⁵⁴⁵ Padmaka,⁵⁴⁶ Kampf, Uśīra,⁵⁴⁷ blauer Lotos und Ambudhara⁵⁴⁸ zu gleichen Teilen, dazu aus weißem Senf gewonnenes Öl beseitigt sämtliche Fehler der Scheide.
46. Ebenso wirkt eine Waschung mit einem Absud aus Nimba⁵⁴⁹-Pflanzen oder eine Räucherung mit gereinigter Augensalbe und Nimba-Mark oder eine täglich dreimalige, sich über sieben Tage erstreckende Waschung mit Wasser aus lebenden Muscheln.
47. Ein mitsamt dem Stengel in Milch zerriebener Lotos, der⁵⁵⁰ mitten in den Sitz des Liebesgottes eingebracht wird, macht selbst aus einer Frau vom Typ der Elefantenkuh eine solche vom Gazellentyp⁵⁵¹ und wird zur Ursache von Glück im Liebeskampf.
48. Ein Pulver aus der Wespe bzw. vom Hauswurm⁵⁵² bzw. vom Marienkäfer mit verdünnter Ziegenmilch verengt das Haus des Liebesgottes.
49. Wird die Scheide mit einem Faden, der in das Maul einer schwarzen Schlange⁵⁵³ gelegt und dann mit Urin und Kot geschwärzt wurde, umkleidet, so verengt man sie allmählich. Sie kommt aber wieder in den natürlichen Zustand durch das Herausziehen des Fadens.
50. Eine Salbung mit dem Samen des Pikanayana⁵⁵⁴ bewirkt eine Scheidenverengung für die Dauer eines Tages. Bei einer Einreibung des Nabels mit dem Pulver von zwei Kuhhörnern, die mit den Spitzen nach unten bzw. nach oben gelegen haben, erfolgt je nachdem die Verengung der Scheide bzw. ihre Rückführung in den natürlichen Zustand.

⁵⁴⁵ Name mehrerer Pflanzenarten, besonders aus der Gattung *Saussurea*; oft identisch mit Kuṣṭha.

⁵⁴⁶ Holz aus dem Obstbaum *Prunus puddum*.

⁵⁴⁷ Aromatische Wurzel der Gramineenart *Andropogon muricatus*.

⁵⁴⁸ Name mehrerer Pflanzenarten aus der Gattung *Cyperus*.

⁵⁴⁹ Name mehrerer Pflanzenarten aus der Gattung *Azadirachta*.

⁵⁵⁰ Also in Form einer Paste.

⁵⁵¹ Vgl. III, 1. Dies bedeutet hier und im Folgenden eine Verengung der Scheide.

⁵⁵² Nicht exakt identifizierbar.

⁵⁵³ Oder 'Schwarzschlange', eine Kenning für die Kobra? Sollte nur eine schwarze Schlange gemeint sein, so läge wohl ein Fall von Farbenmagie vor.

⁵⁵⁴ 'Kuckucksauge', Name einer Pflanzenart (*Hygrophila spinosa* oder *Asteracantha longifolia*).

51. Wenn das Haus des Liebesgottes mit den Pulvern dieser beiden Hörner eingerieben wird, erfolgt eine Erschlaffung bzw. die Aufrichtung des Penis selbst am Ende einer Liebesanstrengung.⁵⁵⁵
52. Eine Salbe aus zwei Rajani,⁵⁵⁶ Staubfäden von der blauen Lotosblüte und Devadāru⁵⁵⁷ bewirkt, auf den Sitz des Liebesgottes aufgebracht, das Wohlgefühl einer Verengung.
53. Durch eine Salbe von Schmelzbutter, Honig und Steinsalz erfährt die Stätte der Wollust selbst bei Gazellen⁵⁵⁸ sowie bei jugendlichen Mädchen und Frauen eine Erweiterung.⁵⁵⁹
54. Haritāla⁵⁶⁰ und Tāla⁵⁶¹-Samen, Steinsalz, Ghananāda,⁵⁶² Lotossamen⁵⁶³ und Ätzsalz, Ikṣvāku⁵⁶⁴-Samen, roter Arsenik, Vacā,⁵⁶⁵ Snuhī⁵⁶⁶-Wurzel und Mañjiṣṭhā,⁵⁶⁷
55. Varuṇa⁵⁶⁸ und Girikarnikā⁵⁶⁹ – nachdem diese siebenmal mit Snuhī-Milch und dann mit Ikṣvāku-Saft beträufelt wurden, soll man sie, nachdem sie

⁵⁵⁵ Dies ist so zu verstehen, daß das Pulver des mit der Spitze abwärts gerichteten Horns vorschnellen Orgasmus verhindert, das Pulver des anderen Horns hingegen selbst *post coitum* die Erektion aufrecht erhält.

⁵⁵⁶ Name mehrerer Pflanzenarten aus der Gattung *Curcuma* (Ingwer).

⁵⁵⁷ Eine Nadelbaumart (*Pinus deodora*).

⁵⁵⁸ Vgl. III,1.

⁵⁵⁹ Kulturgeschichtlich nicht ohne Interesse ist der Umstand, daß nur dieses eine Rezept sich mit der Erweiterung der Vagina befaßt, im Unterschied zu den zahlreichen Empfehlungen für eine Kontraktion.

⁵⁶⁰ Ein gelber (arsenikhaltiger) Farbstoff.

⁵⁶¹ Eine Palmenart (*Borassus flabelliformis*).

⁵⁶² 'Wolkendonner', eine wohl mit Parṇa und Palāśa identische Baumart (*Butea frondosa*)

⁵⁶³ Es kann aber auch eine nicht näher bekannte Pflanze gemeint sein.

⁵⁶⁴ Name mehrerer Pflanzenarten aus der Gattung *Cucumis* (Gurke).

⁵⁶⁵ Name einer Pflanze (*Acorus calamus*).

⁵⁶⁶ S. Vers 25.

⁵⁶⁷ Name der Krapp-Pflanze (*Rubia munjista*).

⁵⁶⁸ Die Baumart *Crataeva roxburghii*. In Texten, die älter als das *Ratirahasya* sind, überwiegt die Lesart *varuṇa*.

⁵⁶⁹ Identisch mit Girikarnī, wozu s. XIV,27.

- zerstampft worden sind, zu einer Paste verarbeiten.⁵⁷⁰
56. Nachdem man die Hälfte der Substanz dieser Paste mit viel Saft der Kandalikā⁵⁷¹ gekocht hat, erfolge zuerst das Ausreißen der Haare; danach reibe mit diesem Öl ein!
57. Wenn du das Verlangen haben solltest, auch den Kopf⁵⁷² wie die Handfläche zu führen, so gilt auch dafür diese Vorschrift mit zwei oder drei⁵⁷³ unter Einbeziehung des Haritāla.⁵⁷⁴
58. Ebenso vernichtet die Haare, nachdem sie ausgerissen wurden, eine Einreibung mit Muschelpulver, Palāśa⁵⁷⁵-Asche, Haritāla und Saffloröl.
59. Aus sechs Teilen Haritāla und einem Teil Kimśuka⁵⁷⁶-Essenz⁵⁷⁷, desgleichen aus Muschelpulver, ergibt sich eine hochwirksame Beseitigung von Haaren.⁵⁷⁸
60. Mit Amalā,⁵⁷⁹ versetzt mit reiner Augensalbe und mit kaltem Wasser getrunken, treibt man die Leibesfrucht ab. Oder man führt während der Zeit, zu der die Menstruation stattfinden sollte,⁵⁸⁰ Butterschmalz in Verbindung mit Honig und Palāśa⁵⁸¹-Samen in die Scheide ein.⁵⁸²

⁵⁷⁰ Hiermit beginnt Kokkoka, Empfehlungen für Depilatorien (Haarentfernungsmittel) zu geben.

⁵⁷¹ Es kann sich um die Banane, aber auch um einen Pilz gehandelt haben.

⁵⁷² Zu ergänzen: 'zu derselben Haarlosigkeit'.

⁵⁷³ Zu ergänzen: 'der dort genannten Bestandteile'.

⁵⁷⁴ Auf den wirksamen Arsenikfarbstoff durfte also nicht verzichtet werden.

⁵⁷⁵ Name einer Baumart (*Butea frondosa*).

⁵⁷⁶ S. XIV,4.

⁵⁷⁷ Dies bleibt unklar; eigentlich bezeichnet dies einen Ätzstoff, aber der Kommentar denkt an Asche.

⁵⁷⁸ Hiernach beginnen die für eine Abtreibung geeigneten Rezepte, obwohl Abtreibung im vedisch-brahmanischen Indien eine der schwersten Sünden war. Das *Kāmasūtra* führt derartige Mittel nicht auf.

⁵⁷⁹ Name einer Euphorbiacee (*Emblica officinalis*), der Myrobalanenbaum.

⁵⁸⁰ Wörtl.: 'während der Menstruation', was man wohl in der angegebenen Weise deuten muß.

⁵⁸¹ S. Vers 58.

⁵⁸² Während Butterschmalz und Honig als Gleitmittel anzusehen sind, wäre die Abortivwirkung des Palāśa-Samens noch zu prüfen.

61. Die mit Reiswasser getrunkene Wurzel⁵⁸³ des Jvalana⁵⁸⁴ oder der Jayantī,⁵⁸⁵ oder in die Scheide eingeführtes, mit Senföl versetztes Salz sind Mittel zur Abtreibung.
62. Staubfäden und Samen des Śaivala⁵⁸⁶ oder die Wurzel des Campaka⁵⁸⁷ oder der Kaṇā⁵⁸⁸ verhindern die⁵⁸⁹ Leibesfrucht; ebenso mit abgestandener Milch getrunkenes Senföl.⁵⁹⁰
63. Wenn eine Geliebte an einem Tag der Menstruation Schmelzbutter mit- samt den Staubfäden eines jungen Nāgakesara⁵⁹¹ getrunken hat und hinterher Milch trinkt, so wird sie beim Beischlaf schwanger.
64. Ebenso wirkt die Wurzel der Lakṣmaṇā,⁵⁹² mit reichlich Schmelzbutter durch die Nase getrunken. Mit Reiswasser getrunkene Jaṭāmāṃsī⁵⁹³ gibt einen Sohn.
65. Selbst eine Unfruchtbare gelangt zur Empfängnis, wenn sie Milch von einer einfarbigen⁵⁹⁴ Kuh mit der Wurzel der Kekiśikhā⁵⁹⁵ oder des Putrañjīva⁵⁹⁶ trinkt.
66. Wenn eine Frau, die während der Menstruation gebadet hat, Lakṣma- ṇā⁵⁹⁷-Wurzel mit solcher Milch⁵⁹⁸ trinkt und eine siebenmal gewaschene

⁵⁸³ Vor dem Trinken ist die Wurzel in Reiswasser aufzulösen.

⁵⁸⁴ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Plumbago zeylanica*).

⁵⁸⁵ Name mehrerer Pflanzenarten aus der Gattung *Sesbania*.

⁵⁸⁶ Identisch mit Śaivāla in Vers 38.

⁵⁸⁷ Name einer Baumart (*Michelia champaka*) mit hellgelben Blüten.

⁵⁸⁸ S. Vers 33.

⁵⁸⁹ Zu ergänzen: 'Entwicklung der'.

⁵⁹⁰ Ab jetzt bespricht Kokkoka den gegenteiligen Aspekt, nämlich Mittel zur Herbei- führung einer Schwangerschaft.

⁵⁹¹ Name mehrerer Pflanzenarten aus der Gattung *Mesua*.

⁵⁹² Name einer Pflanzenart (*Hemionitis cordifolia*).

⁵⁹³ Mit Māṃsī (s. Vers 42) identische Pflanze.

⁵⁹⁴ Im Text ist *ekavarṇa* statt *ekarṇa* zu lesen.

⁵⁹⁵ 'Pfauenkamm', Name einer Pflanzenart (*Celosia cristata*).

⁵⁹⁶ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Putranjiva roxburghii*).

⁵⁹⁷ S. Vers 64.

⁵⁹⁸ Nämlich mit der Milch einer einfarbigen Kuh.

- Reisspeise verzehrt, bekommt sie einen Sohn.⁵⁹⁹
67. Die Wurzeln von zwei blauen Lotosarten, versetzt mit Honig und Steinsalz genossen, ebenso das Blatt der Godhāvalī⁶⁰⁰ mit Butterschmalz, verhindern Blutfluß.⁶⁰¹
68. Blauer Lotos, Zucker, Süßholz, Śyāmalatā⁶⁰² sowie Lodhra,⁶⁰³ mit Sandel versehen, verhindern, mit Reiswasser getrunken, den Abgang des Fötus.
69. Süßholz, Kuśa,⁶⁰⁴ Kāśa,⁶⁰⁵ zerlassene Butter, ferner mit weißen Lotosblüten versetzte Milch, wonach auch Musta⁶⁰⁶ zu trinken ist, helfen gegen den Abgang des Fötus und stechende Schmerzen.⁶⁰⁷
70. Eine Schwangere, die unter der Sternkonstellation Puṣya⁶⁰⁸ ausgerissene Büschel vom Kharva⁶⁰⁹ ...⁶¹⁰ sich an die Hüfte gebunden hat und verzehrt, entbindet unverzüglich.
71. Wenn sie die Wurzel eines Guñja⁶¹¹ in sieben Stücke teilt und sie mit sieben Fäden an die Hüftgegend bindet, so wird auch einer schwer Gebärenden eine glückliche Geburt zuteil.
72. Durch das Füllen der Ohren mit der zuvor zerkauten Wurzel des Pikalocana⁶¹² erlangt eine von sehr starken Schwangerschaftsbeschwerden heimgesuchte Frau eine glückliche Geburt.
73. Die Wurzel der schwarzen Balā⁶¹³ in Verbindung mit dem Wurzelstock

⁵⁹⁹ Nun beginnt die Aufzählung von Rezepten zur Verhütung von Fehlgeburten.

⁶⁰⁰ Name einer nicht exakt zu definierenden Pflanzenart.

⁶⁰¹ Gemeint ist natürlich der mit einem Abort einhergehende Blutfluß.

⁶⁰² Name mehrerer Pflanzenarten (Lianen), u.a. *Ichnocarpus frutescens*.

⁶⁰³ S. Vers 5.

⁶⁰⁴ Name einer Grasart (*Poa cynosuroides*).

⁶⁰⁵ Name einer Grasart (*Saccharum spontaneum*).

⁶⁰⁶ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Cyperus rotundus*).

⁶⁰⁷ Hiernach beginnen die Rezepte für eine leichte Niederkunft.

⁶⁰⁸ S. Anm.438.

⁶⁰⁹ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Rosa moschata*).

⁶¹⁰ Die Textüberlieferung ist an dieser Stelle unsicher.

⁶¹¹ Name eines zu den Leguminosen gehörenden Schlingstrauches (*Abrus precatorius*).

⁶¹² Name einer Pflanzenart (*Asteracantha longifolia*).

⁶¹³ S. Vers 9.

- der weißen Girikarṇī⁶¹⁴ bewirkt, wenn eingerieben und in die Scheide eingebracht, die glückliche Entbindung einer sonst schwer Gebärenden.
74. Die mit roten Fäden an die Hüfte gebundene Wurzel der weißen Balā bewirkt rasch die Entfernung von Unreinheit,⁶¹⁵ desgleichen die auf die Füße aufgebrachte Ikṣvāku⁶¹⁶-Wurzel.⁶¹⁷
75. Die Wurzel der Kharamañjarī⁶¹⁸ und der Punarnavā⁶¹⁹ vertreiben, gemahlen in die Scheide eingebracht, allen die Scheide einer Wöchnerin heimsuchenden Schmerz.
76. Ebenso vertreibt das aus Baumwollsamens gewonnene Öl, zubereitet mit Schmelzbutter und Rattenfleisch, bei Einbringen in die Scheide den Schmerz der Wöchnerin.
77. Ein zuvor in verflüssigtem Kuhmist und in Kuhurin zerstampftes Blatt des Varuṇa⁶²⁰ tötet, wenn mit Schmelzbutter eingerieben, die an der Stätte der Liebeslust der Wöchnerin befindlichen Würmer.
78. Die Füllung der Scheide mit einem aus Kuṣṭha,⁶²¹ Lotos⁶²² und jungem blauem Lotos bereiteten Öl, ferner das Räuchern der mittels einer Abkochung von Nimba⁶²³ gereinigten Scheide mit Kügelchen der Abhayā,⁶²⁴
79. oder die Füllung der Scheide mit einem von der Sonne erwärmten Öl aus zerstampften Muskatnußblüten, Süßholz und den fünf Zweigen⁶²⁵ beseitigt Geruch.

⁶¹⁴ S. XIV,27.

⁶¹⁵ Gemeint ist die Nachgeburt.

⁶¹⁶ S. Vers 54.

⁶¹⁷ Nun folgt die Aufzählung von Mitteln gegen postnatale Komplikationen.

⁶¹⁸ S. Vers 33.

⁶¹⁹ S. XIV,37.

⁶²⁰ S. Vers 55.

⁶²¹ S. XIV,35.

⁶²² Gemeint ist die Gattung *Nelumbium*.

⁶²³ S. Vers 46.

⁶²⁴ Name einer Baumart aus der Familie der Combretaceen (*Terminalia chebula*), die eine gerbstoffhaltige Rinde liefert.

⁶²⁵ Diese stammen nach dem Kommentar von folgenden Pflanzen: Mango (*Mangifera indica*), Jambū (*Eugenia jambolana*), Kapittha (*Feronia elephantum*), Bijapūra (*Citrus medica*) und Bilva (*Aegle marmelos*).

80. Das Pulver der Cochenillelaus, vermischt mit der Wurzel des Kāravella,⁶²⁶ läßt nach dem Einreiben den Tempel des Liebesgottes einer Wöchnerin wieder enger werden.
81. In Milch zerriebene und getrunkene Reiskörner dehnen bei siebentägigem Gebrauch den Busen wie eine im Wasser wachsende blaue Lotosblüte aus.
82. Es bezwingt auch eine ausgedehnte Schwellung der Brüste eine Salbe aus der Koloquinthe. Desgleichen wirkt Knoblauch mit gelbem Sandel gegen die Brustschwellung einer jungen Frau.
83. Der Bauch einer Wöchnerin wird wieder dünn, wenn sie die Wurzel der Mālatī⁶²⁷ mit verdünnter Buttermilch trinkt. Ebenso wirken Schmelzbutter, Honig und Dhātrī,⁶²⁸ zusammen mit gelbem Sandel während der Morgendämmerung gelutscht.⁶²⁹
84. Wie eine Einreibung mit Muschelpulver, das mit der Rinde des Mango- und des Granatapfelbaumes vermischt wurde, so vertreibt auch eine Einreibung mit Tamarinden- und Karañja⁶³⁰-Samen üblen Geruch.
85. Eine Einreibung mit den Blüten des Kakubha,⁶³¹ den Blättern der Jambū⁶³² und des Lodhra⁶³³ zu gleichen Teilen vertreibt im Sommer den durch Hitze usw. entstandenen üblen Körpergeruch.
86. Wer den Körper mit einem Pulver von Lodhra, Uśīra,⁶³⁴ Śirīṣaka⁶³⁵ und Padmaka⁶³⁶ behandelt, bei dem entstehen selbst im Sommer keine vom

⁶²⁶ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Momordica charantia*).

⁶²⁷ Die Pflanze *Jasminum grandiflorum*, aber auch die giftige Milchsaftlane *Echites caryophyllata* aus der Familie der Apocynaceen.

⁶²⁸ S. Vers 16.

⁶²⁹ Hiernach folgen einige Mittel zur Beseitigung von Körpergeruch. Hierher hätten auch die Verse 78-79 gestellt werden sollen.

⁶³⁰ S. Karañjaka in Vers 20.

⁶³¹ Name einer Baumart (*Terminalia arjuna*).

⁶³² Bezeichnung des Rosenapfelbaums (*Eugenia jambolana*), einer Myrtacee.

⁶³³ S. Vers 5.

⁶³⁴ S. Vers 45.

⁶³⁵ Der Baum *Acacia sirissa* Buch.-Ham. = *Albizzia lebbek* Benth. aus der Familie der Leguminosen, dessen Rinde Gerbstoff liefert.

⁶³⁶ S. Vers 45.

- Schwitzen herrührenden Hautschäden.
87. Eine Einreibung mit Sandel, Safran, kleinem Lodhra, Tagara⁶³⁷ und Vālaka⁶³⁸ beseitigt, auch wenn sie nur ein einziges Mal vorgenommen wird, keinen geringen Körpergeruch.
 88. Eine Einreibung aus Bilva⁶³⁹ und Śivā⁶⁴⁰ zu gleichen Teilen beseitigt den Geruch der Achselhöhlen, ebenso mit Samen aus dem Pūtikarañja,⁶⁴¹ versetzt mit reifer Tamarinde.
 89. Auch wenn nur ein einziges Mal genossen, beseitigt Mundgeruch vollständig die Haut der Bījapūraka⁶⁴²-Frucht; auch üblen Atem tilgt sie.
 90. Ein Mundvoll Kuṣṭha,⁶⁴³ Elavāluka,⁶⁴⁴ Kardamom, Süßholz und Korian-der beseitigt Mundgeruch vollständig und vertreibt den Geruch von Knoblauch usw.
 91. Eine Pille, aus Muskatnuß, Muskatblatt, Majoran, Safran und Kuṣṭha zubereitet, beseitigt, wenn in der Mundhöhle befindlich, schlechten Geruch.
 92. Es beseitigt schlechten Geruch und den Mundgeruch des Menschen das täglich gekaute Zahnreinigungsmittel,⁶⁴⁵ das mit scharf, bitter und aromatisch schmeckendem Öl versehen ist.
 93. Ein Lutschbonbon aus Muskatnuß, Kardamom, Pfeffer, Lājaka,⁶⁴⁶ Honig und Zitronenblättern verleiht bei ständigem Gebrauch dem Menschen eine Stimme, die süß wie die des Kinnara⁶⁴⁷ ist.⁶⁴⁸
 94. Frauen, die sich Einreibungen mit Sesam, Senf, zwei Rajani⁶⁴⁹-Arten und

⁶³⁷ S. XIV,36.

⁶³⁸ Grasart aus der Gattung *Andropogon*.

⁶³⁹ Name eines Baumes aus der Familie der Rutaceen (*Aegle marmelos*).

⁶⁴⁰ Sammelname ('die Heilsame') mehrerer Pflanzenarten.

⁶⁴¹ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Guilandina bonducella*).

⁶⁴² Name mehrerer *Citrus*-Arten.

⁶⁴³ S. XIV,35.

⁶⁴⁴ Aromatische Rinde von *Feronia elephantum*, einer Rutacee.

⁶⁴⁵ Das war damals nicht die Zahnbürste, sondern ein Holzstäbchen.

⁶⁴⁶ Aromatische Wurzel von *Andropogon muricatus* (Grasart).

⁶⁴⁷ Bezeichnung halbgottähnlicher Wesen, die als Sänger galten.

⁶⁴⁸ Nunmehr werden Kosmetika und Körperpflegemittel aufgeführt.

⁶⁴⁹ S. Vers 52.

- Kuṣṭha⁶⁵⁰ verschaffen, spotten des Glanzes von Gold und besitzen ein Höchstmaß an Wohlgeruch.
95. Durch Pasten von Nimba,⁶⁵¹ Āragvadha,⁶⁵² dem Granatapfelbaum, Śirīṣa⁶⁵³ mit Lodhraka⁶⁵⁴ in Verbindung mit Rajani und Musta⁶⁵⁵ wird den Gliedern der Frauen eine schöne Farbe zuteil.
96. Eine Salbung mit schwarzem Sesam, Kṛṣṇajīraka,⁶⁵⁶ weißem Senf und Milch gibt dem Gesicht große Schönheit und tilgt außerdem Körperflecken.
97. Es beseitigt Körperflecken auch das Mark des Badara,⁶⁵⁷ vermischt mit Melasse, Honig und frischer Butter, als Salbe. Oder man nimmt Rinde vom Varuṇa,⁶⁵⁸ die in Ziegenmilch zerstampft wurde.
98. Eine Salbe aus Lodhra,⁶⁵⁹ Vacā⁶⁶⁰ und Koriander erweist sich als Vertilger von Pubertätspickeln. Ebenso wirkt eine Einreibung mit Pfefferkörnern unter Zufügung von Rindsgallenstein.
99. Durch eine Einreibung mit dem Mehl spelzenfreier Gerste, Süßholz, weißem Senf und Lodhra werden die Gesichter der Frauen unbedingt dem feinsten Gold gleich.
100. Eine Einreibung aus reifen Vaṭa⁶⁶¹-Blättern, Kāñcanaparnī,⁶⁶² Süßholz, Priyaṅgu,⁶⁶³ Lotos, Sahadevī,⁶⁶⁴ gelbem Sandel, Lack, Safran und Lodhra,

⁶⁵⁰ S. XIV,35.

⁶⁵¹ S. Vers 46.

⁶⁵² Name einer Pflanzenart (*Cathartocarpus fistula* oder die Leguminose *Cassia fistula*).

⁶⁵³ S. Śirīṣaka in Vers 86.

⁶⁵⁴ S. Lodhra in Vers 5.

⁶⁵⁵ S. Vers 69.

⁶⁵⁶ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Nigella sativa*).

⁶⁵⁷ Name einer Obstbaumart (*Zizyphus jujuba*), Brustbeere.

⁶⁵⁸ S. Vers 55.

⁶⁵⁹ S. Vers 5.

⁶⁶⁰ S. Vers 54.

⁶⁶¹ S. XIV,35.

⁶⁶² Name einer nicht genau zu identifizierenden Pflanze ('Goldblatt').

⁶⁶³ Die Hirseart *Panicum italicum*.

⁶⁶⁴ S. Anm. 435.

101. zu gleichen Teilen in Wasser pulverisiert, bewirkt zwangsläufig, daß das lotosäugige Antlitz der Geliebten⁶⁶⁵ den Glanz des herbstlichen Mondes herabsetzt.⁶⁶⁶
102. Durch den Gebrauch von Antimon und Reiswasser wird das Brüstepaar der jungen Frauen zu einem Räuber des Schatzes 'Herz' der Verständigen: ganz ausgedehnt und aufgerichtet.
103. Mit Priyaṅgu,⁶⁶⁷ Vacā⁶⁶⁸ und Kaṭuka⁶⁶⁹ versehenes, aus Kṛtāñjali⁶⁷⁰ und Rajani⁶⁷¹ zu gleichen Teilen, ordnungsgemäß mit einer jeweils gleichen Menge Kuh- und Büffelkuhbutter hergestelltes Öl
104. macht durch seine Anwendung in dreimal sieben Nächten das Brüstepaar von Frauen reifen Alters fest, ausgedehnt, hoch und straff.
105. Wer mit Kot von einem ins Haus gekommenen Affen, der frische Butter mit Haritāla⁶⁷² gefressen hat, sich die Hand schmirt, der umschließt die Brust innerhalb der Faust.⁶⁷³
106. Wenn ein Mann ein Pulver aus der Cochenillelaus und Bhūmilatā⁶⁷⁴ in die Scheide einer Frau einführt, so wird beim Geschlechtsverkehr ein anderer Mann wie in der Schlacht mit angehaltener Waffe.⁶⁷⁵

⁶⁶⁵ Plural.

⁶⁶⁶ Die folgenden Rezepte dienen der Straffung des Busens.

⁶⁶⁷ Diese Deutung des im Text vorkommenden *yuvati* folgt dem Kommentar. Zu Priyaṅgu s. Vers 100.

⁶⁶⁸ S. Vers 54.

⁶⁶⁹ Name mehrerer Pflanzenarten von der Gras- bis zur Baumart.

⁶⁷⁰ S. XIV,27.

⁶⁷¹ S. Vers 52.

⁶⁷² S. Vers 54.

⁶⁷³ Die Stelle war bereits dem Kommentator nicht klar. Offenbar ist an eine feste, straffe Brust gedacht, die man mit einer Hand voll umschließen kann. Das ist deshalb merkwürdig, weil im alten Indien besonders große Brüste geschätzt wurden. Nach diesem Vers werden einige Bindungszauber mitgeteilt.

⁶⁷⁴ Name einer wohl mit Śaṅkhaṣpī (*Pladera* bzw. *Canscora decussata*) identischen Schlingpflanze.

⁶⁷⁵ Gemeint ist: Ein eventueller Nebenbuhler würde die Erektion einbüßen und das Feld des Liebeskampfes räumen müssen.

107. Wenn man mit einem Penis, den man mit dem Kot einer aus dem Luft-
raum herbeigekommenen Fledermaus beschmiert hat, einer Frau auch
nur ein einziges Mal beiwohnt, so weist sie das Verlangen nach einem
anderen als diesem Mann weit zurück.
108. Wenn man diesen Kot in einer Tüte verbrannt hat und ihn dann zusam-
men mit saurem Reisschleim in die Scheide einreibt, so kommt die Ge-
liebte in den natürlichen Zustand,⁶⁷⁶ als eine Stätte der Lieblichkeit.
109. Wenn ein Verliebter sich mit einer Frau vereint, deren Wolluststätte mit
dem Samen eines rotgesichtigen Affen, vermischt mit dem Samen eines
Esels, eingerieben wurde, so liebt er niemals eine andere Frau.⁶⁷⁷
110. Impotent wird jener Mann, dessen Samen, in ein Bahuvāra⁶⁷⁸-Blatt ge-
hüllt, in einen rot lackierten Umschlag eingebunden und am Fußende des
Bettes niedergelegt wird.
111. Mit dem Urin eines Ziegenbocks versetzter Staub des Sechspunktes⁶⁷⁹
gepaart mit Rajani⁶⁸⁰-Pulver, führt, wenn gegessen, selbst einen jungen
Mann unbedingt und in Kürze zur Impotenz.
112. Pulver des Gokṣura⁶⁸¹ mit Sesam, mit Ziegenmilch zubereitet und sieben
Tage lang mit Honig getrunken, behebt die Impotenz unverzüglich.
113. Wenn ein von einem aus der Hüfte eines Mannes stammenden Knochen
durchbohrter Kamelknochen ans Kopfende des Bettes einer Frau gelegt
wird, so haftet diese während des Verkehrs.⁶⁸²
114. Zwischen zwei Personen, in deren Namen ein hundertfaches Opfer⁶⁸³
vom Blut einer Eule und einer dunkelfarbigen Krähe mit zerlassener

⁶⁷⁶ So im Text! Vielleicht sollte dieser Vers eigentlich nach Vers 83 stehen oder hat
einmal dort gestanden.

⁶⁷⁷ Es folgen Rezepte für bzw. gegen die Impotenz.

⁶⁷⁸ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Cordia myxa*).

⁶⁷⁹ Gemeint ist wahrscheinlich ein Käfer.

⁶⁸⁰ S. Vers 52.

⁶⁸¹ S. Vers 15.

⁶⁸² Der Sinn dürfte sein, daß die Frau an ihrem Partner haftet, d.h. daß die Frau eine be-
sonders lange Dauer des Koitus bekommt, oder aber erträgt bzw. wünscht. Es folgen Rezepte
zur Herbeiführung von Feindschaft bzw. Freundschaft.

⁶⁸³ Hier findet sich eine späte Nachwirkung des vedischen Opferrituals, das auf dem
magischen Weltbild beruhte und daher mit magischen Praktiken eng verbunden war.

Butter und Bilva⁶⁸⁴ als Brennholz veranstaltet wird, entsteht Haß.

115. So wirkt auch ein von beiden Eheleuten mit Krähen- und Eulenfedern veranstaltetes Opfer, ebenso ein Opfer mit dem Blut dieser beiden Vögel, nachdem man den Namen⁶⁸⁵ auf Nimba⁶⁸⁶-Blüten eingeritzt hat.
116. In einer Behausung, in der man mit den Haaren einer Maus, einer Katze, eines Brahmanen und eines Digambara⁶⁸⁷ ein Opfer darbringt, entsteht untereinander Feindschaft.
117. Eine im Haus vorgenommene Räucherung mit den Essenzen von Surataru,⁶⁸⁸ Tagara,⁶⁸⁹ Vacā,⁶⁹⁰ Aloe, Moschus und Sandelholz führt gegenseitige Zuneigung herbei.
118. Von Nāgārjuna⁶⁹¹ wurden viele Rezepte mit vierzehn Substanzen⁶⁹² mitgeteilt. Wir werden die grundlegenden Rezepte, die einen sichtbaren Erfolg hatten, hier anführen.
119. Bhṛṅgarāja⁶⁹³ und Mohalatā⁶⁹⁴ betören, als Stirnzeichen gebraucht, alle Welt, ebenso Lajjālu⁶⁹⁵ mit Ajakarnī,⁶⁹⁶ Rudantī⁶⁹⁷ und Sahadevī.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁸⁴ S. Vers 88.

⁶⁸⁵ Des Feindes.

⁶⁸⁶ S. Vers 46.

⁶⁸⁷ 'Luftgekleideter', ein nackt gehender, d.h. extrem asketischer Mönch des ursprünglichen Jinismus.

⁶⁸⁸ S. XIV,40.

⁶⁸⁹ S. XIV,36.

⁶⁹⁰ S. Vers 54.

⁶⁹¹ Name eines nicht näher identifizierten Verfassers von Werken über Medizin und Arzneimittellkunde. Mit dem gleichnamigen berühmten Philosophen des jüngeren Buddhismus dürfte er kaum identisch sein.

⁶⁹² Diese werden in den folgenden Versen erwähnt.

⁶⁹³ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Eclipta alba*), gemeine Ringelblume.

⁶⁹⁴ S. XIV,27.

⁶⁹⁵ S. Anm. 419.

⁶⁹⁶ Name einer Pflanzenart (wahrscheinlich *Pentaptera tomentosa*).

⁶⁹⁷ Name eines nicht näher bekannten Strauches mit träufelndem Saft.

⁶⁹⁸ S. Anm. 435.

120. Mit einem 'Pfauenkamm'⁶⁹⁹ und Añjārikā⁷⁰⁰ versehene Suravāruṇī⁷⁰¹ und Kṛtāñjali,⁷⁰² in die Scheide eingeführt, bewirken, daß die Frau zur Sklavin, der Mann zum Sklaven wird.⁷⁰³
121. Durch eine Einreibung des Körpers mit Bhṛṅgarāja, Lajjāluka,⁷⁰⁴ Harajata⁷⁰⁵ und weißem Arka,⁷⁰⁶ ebenso mit einem Kügelchen aus Viṣṇukrāntā,⁷⁰⁷ weißem Arka, Puñjari⁷⁰⁸ und Harajata bringt man andere in seine Gewalt.
122. Eine mit Gocandana,⁷⁰⁹ Ajakarnī,⁷¹⁰ Rudantikā⁷¹¹ und Kanyakā⁷¹² ausgeführte Einreibung der Scheide gewinnt die Liebe der Frauen bis zum Tode.
123. Ein Pulver aus Lajjāluka,⁷¹³ Sahadevī,⁷¹⁴ Kanyā⁷¹⁵ und dem Gallenstein des Rindes, mit Betel verabreicht, ist das beste Mittel zur Unterjochung der Frau.

⁶⁹⁹ S. Kekisikhā in Vers 65.

⁷⁰⁰ Handelt es sich hierbei um eine Variante des Pflanzennamens Añjalikā (*Mimosa pudica*)? Ansonsten nicht zu identifizieren.

⁷⁰¹ Die Bedeutung dieses Begriffs ist unbekannt.

⁷⁰² S. XIV,27.

⁷⁰³ Beide werden also einander ergeben.

⁷⁰⁴ = Lajjālu, wozu s. Anm. 419.

⁷⁰⁵ Name einer mit Rudrajaṭā (wozu s. XIV,27) identischen Schlingpflanzenart.

⁷⁰⁶ Name einer Asklepiadacee (*Calotropis gigantea*); die Rinde der Wurzel dient als Brechmittel.

⁷⁰⁷ Name einer Pflanzenart, wohl identisch mit Girikarnī (wozu s. XIV,27).

⁷⁰⁸ Die Bedeutung dieses Begriffs ist unbekannt.

⁷⁰⁹ Name einer Sandelbaumart.

⁷¹⁰ S. Vers 119.

⁷¹¹ = Rudantī in Vers 119.

⁷¹² Name einer Pflanzenart (*Aloe indica*).

⁷¹³ S. Vers 121.

⁷¹⁴ S. Anm. 435.

⁷¹⁵ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Aloe perfoliata*).

124. Eine Salbe aus Viṣṇukrāntā,⁷¹⁶ Sitaravi,⁷¹⁷ Kṛtāñjali⁷¹⁸ und einem 'Pfauenkamm'⁷¹⁹ bewirkt in der Scheidenöffnung der Frau einen Orgasmus, auf dem Körper ihre Unterjochung.
125. Ein Kügelchen aus Bhṛṅgarāja⁷²⁰ und Kanyā, dazu Viṣṇukrāntā vermennt mit Jātikā,⁷²¹ bewirkt, während des Verkehrs im Munde gehalten, ein Zurückhalten des Samens.⁷²²
126. Vermittels einer aus Sahadevī,⁷²³ versetzt mit Viṣṇukrāntā, Harajāṭa⁷²⁴ und Bhṛṅgarāja, bestehenden Einreibung des Sitzes des Liebesgottes erlangt auch eine Unglückliche das Glück.
127. Selbst eine Unfruchtbare, die nach der Menstruation gebadet hat und dann ein Pulver aus Gocandana,⁷²⁵ Daṇḍotpala,⁷²⁶ Viṣṇukrāntā und Kṛtāñjali⁷²⁷ einnimmt, empfängt eine Leibesfrucht.
128. Putrañjātī⁷²⁸ und Kumārikā,⁷²⁹ vermischt mit Rudantī⁷³⁰ und einem 'Pfauenkamm',⁷³¹ gewähren, in die Scheide versenkt, auch einer schwer Gebärenden eine glückliche Entbindung.
129. Wer den Körper mit Harajāṭa⁷³² und Rudantī sowie mit einem 'Pfauen-

⁷¹⁶ S. Vers 121.

⁷¹⁷ S. XIV,31.

⁷¹⁸ S. XIV,27.

⁷¹⁹ S. Kekiśikhā in Vers 65.

⁷²⁰ S. Vers 119.

⁷²¹ Name einer Pflanzenart (*Jasminum grandiflorum* oder der Muskatnußbaum).

⁷²² Bewirkt wird die Verzögerung der Ejakulation.

⁷²³ S. Anm. 435.

⁷²⁴ S. Vers 121.

⁷²⁵ S. Vers 122.

⁷²⁶ S. XIV,37.

⁷²⁷ S. XIV,27.

⁷²⁸ Name einer Pflanzenart, vielleicht identisch mit Lakṣmaṇā (wozu s. Vers 64).

⁷²⁹ Eine verschieden gedeutete Pflanzenart (u.a. identisch mit Kanyā, Girikarṇī und einer Jasminart).

⁷³⁰ S. Vers 119.

⁷³¹ S. Kekiśikhā in Vers 65.

⁷³² S. Vers 121.

kamm' mitsamt Sahadevī⁷³³ salbt, dem gelingen sämtliche Unternehmungen.

130. Der Sproß des Pāribhadra, dessen Ruhm von Göttern, Menschen und Schlangenwesen hoch besungen wurde, der Enkel des Tejoka, dessen Name⁷³⁴ in der Versammlung der gelehrten Dichter hochgeschätzt wird, der Sohn des Dichters Śrīgadya Vidyādhara, hat dieses Geheimnis des Liebesspiels im Interesse der Verliebten, denen es was es auch immer an Wollust gibt spenden möge, verfaßt.

Ende des *Ratirahasya*

⁷³³ S. Anm. 435.

⁷³⁴ Gemeint ist nicht Tejoka, sondern Kokkoka.

Integrated Asian Medicine and the Loss of Individuality*

MAARTEN BODE

Simultaneously with an exhibition on Oriental medicine in the Ethnographic Museum in Antwerp, Belgium, an illustrated guide with nineteen articles on the topic was released, beautifully illustrated with pictures of the exhibition objects as well as contemporary Asian healing practices. The articles differ in length, quality and professional background of the authors. Philologists, historians and traditional physicians figure prominently in the guide while the perspective of medical anthropology is subordinate.

In their foreword Van Alphen and Aris state that their aim is not to recommend medical practices but to initiate a dialogue. In line with this intention seven contributions have been written by healers and researchers working in Asia while the remaining come from European scientists.

Attention is paid to the exotic character of Asian healing traditions as well as to contemporary developments. After describing the contents of the guide – in which due attention will be given to tensions between adaption and the individuality of Asian healing systems – I shall demonstrate at length the syncretism which dominates contemporary Asian medicine. By taking Ayurvedic contemporary practice in India as an example I shall argue for the necessity of accepting this syncretism as the state of affairs at the end of the twentieth century. At the same time the problem of incorporation of Asian healing traditions in biomedicine¹ is recognised. Therefore I shall offer some sug-

* A review of: *Oriental Medicine. An Illustrated Guide to the Asian Arts of Healing*, edited by Jan Van Alphen & Anthony Aris, Serindia Publications: London 1995. 272 pp., 190 colour plates, 40 black and white illustrations. £ 39.50. ISBN 0 906026 36 9. (Dutch edition: *Oosterse geneeskunde. Een geïllustreerde gids van de Aziatische geneeswijzen*, Lemniscaat: Rotterdam 1995. Fl. 95. ISBN 90 5637 009 X.)

¹ Biomedicine is the medical system which originated in the West in the sixteenth century and has spread all over the globe. Logical empiricism, especially applied to fields like biology, biochemistry and pharmacology, gives biomedicine its epistemological base. Cf. the 'Introduction' to Charles Leslie and Allan Young (eds.), *Paths to Asian Medical Knowledge*, University of California Press: Berkeley 1992. Because of the prefix 'bio' with its con-

gestions for the development of an epistemology which is more suitable for Asian medicine compared with research along positivistic lines, which dominates research in Asia on indigenous systems.

In the introduction Fernand Meyer contrasts naturalism, as part and parcel of Asian medical systems, with personalistic views on illness. Compared with the latter, Asian medicine is held not to be as well equipped to explain why illness and misfortune fall upon a specific person, but to hold an advantage in terms of neutrality, generality and abstraction. On the individual connotative aspects of Asian medicine Meyer remarks: 'this body-mind, the world and society, are interrelated, reflecting one another in a complex system of polysemy parallels and metaphors' (p.14). According to Meyer, by neglecting non-biological aspects of illness biomedicine is often experienced by patients 'as limiting, dehumanising, and aggressive' (p.14). By diametrically opposing Asian medicine and biomedicine Meyer's philological orientation becomes obvious. It is my conviction that this opposition does not hold if we look at contemporary Asian medical practice. As I said before, in this review article I shall deal with this subject in detail.

Dominik Wujastyk opens the first section of the guide, 'The World of Indian Medicine', by giving a clear and sophisticated description of developments in the field of medicine on the Indian subcontinent over the last three thousand years. Being an expert in Sanskrit specialised in classical Ayurvedic texts, he draws a clear picture of origin, content, evolution, as well as the use in daily practice, of these works. The evolution of Ayurvedic knowledge is emphasised. Attention is paid to interactions between Ayurveda and indigenous systems like Siddha, astrological medicine and shamanistic healing as well as foreign medical ideas from Islamic medicine, the Portugese, the Dutch and the British. Wujastyk goes on with demystifying Ayurveda when he analyses indigenous plastic surgery and inoculation. These techniques are not described in the classical Ayurvedic texts and were not performed by Ayurvedic healers,

notations of natural as opposed to chemical, the term 'biomedicine' can be confusing when used in the Indian context. Besides 'modern medicine' and 'Western medicine' the term 'allopathy' is widely used in India. Because of their inherent ethnocentrism the first two terms are not favoured by medical anthropologists. 'Allopathy' on the other hand is confusing because Ayurveda heals by using medicines containing qualities which are in contrast with the qualities of the *doṣa(s)* the Ayurvedic cure wants to pacify. This term creates, in fact, a dichotomy with biomedicine and Ayurveda on one side and homoeopathy – which is popular in India and is today looked upon as an indigenous system – on the other.

but by members of lower castes like brickmakers and gardeners.²

The second article on Indian medicine fills a gap. In almost thirty pages the historian Claudia Liebeskind deals with the history of Unani medicine since its introduction on the subcontinent one thousand years ago. According to my knowledge very little research has been done on this medical tradition which is second in importance among the Indian medical systems. Besides, developments within Unani Tibb since independence has made India the world market leader in "Islamic" medicine. By analysing Unani classical texts Liebeskind provides a base for further study in this fascinating field. According to her the period from about 1000 to about 1800 is marked by systematisation of knowledge, translation of Arabic texts into Persian, which was popular at Indian Muslim courts, and compilations of therapies. Ayurveda and Unani have influenced each other. Unani incorporated Ayurvedic drugs in its pharmacopoeia and Ayurveda adopted pulse diagnosis and the use of metals for medication from Unani. Liebeskind's article is based on classical texts, therefore nothing is said about Islamic folk healing.

Next is the article by Robert Svoboda, who was trained at an Ayurvedic college in Pune. After his return to the United States he started practising Ayurveda, educating people in the art of Ayurvedic medicine and publishing books on Ayurveda. In Svoboda's article the influence of his Indian teachers as well as of New Age can be detected. Svoboda considers Ayurvedic classic texts as the materialisation of eternal knowledge and perversity of the mind as the ultimate cause of every disease (p.81). Right thoughts are supposed to lead us to prosperity (p.97), happiness and health (p.73). Undigested food-juice (*āma*) – an important somatic cause of illness according to Ayurveda – is equated with undigested desire (p.76). Svoboda transforms a healing system which offers primarily physiological explanations for illness into a system marked by psychic determinism.³ In line with ideas common within New Age, "wrong thoughts" become the paramount aetiological factor and morality gets constricted to personal hygiene. Health is not a condition for happiness, but

² According to David Arnold, *Colonizing the body. State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India*, Oxford University Press: Delhi 1993, 131, most of the indigenous inoculators (*tīkāḍār*) practising in India during the last century belonged to lower castes like gardeners (*mālī*) and barbers (*nāpīt*). Contact with waste products of the body was considered defiling by many *vaidyas*.

³ Cf., by contrast, the literature cited in note 18.

happiness its determinant (p.73).⁴ If one is able to ignore his rhetoric it becomes possible to benefit from Svoboda's discussion of basic concepts, diagnostics and Ayurvedic therapies, as well as to appreciate the many passages of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* (approx. 700 AD) which he cites.

The last article in this section pays respect to Ayurveda as a living medical system endowed with professional organisations, institutes of research and learning, and a large pharmaceutical industry. In their essay 'Ayurveda Today – Ayurveda at the Crossroads', Darshan Shankar and Ram Manohar, who work for the Bangalore based Foundation for Revitalisation of Local Health Traditions, offer a critical evaluation of Ayurveda in contemporary India. Though objective data like the number of registered Ayurvedic physicians, educational facilities and researched indigenous drugs lead to optimism, the authors notice an identity crisis within Ayurveda. This crisis is caused by 'the myth of the exclusively universal and unique nature of modern science and technology' (p.103). According to the authors this myth has tied research on Ayurveda to positivistic research designs and biomedical parameters which may lead to incorporation by biomedicine. The authors dispute the domination of an epistemology marked by positivism and variations on the logic of Aristotle. They plead for an inclusive logic and a phenomenological approach. By their critical evaluation of existing data Shankar and Manohar offer a fair representation of the state of Ayurveda in contemporary India.

The second section is on Tibetan medicine. The contribution of the Tibetologist and physician Fernand Meyer is one of the highlights of the whole guide. Meyer's essay – which is beautifully illustrated by representations of the rich Tibetan iconography – not only explains Tibetan medicine but also enhances our understanding of Ayurveda, which has strongly influenced Tibetan ideas on physiology, pathology and therapy (p.123). Meyer describes the long history of Tibetan Medicine, which was influenced by medical ideas from India, China, Persia and even Greece. More important is the individuality of the Tibetan medical system. Post-mortem research was extensively practised; this contributed positively to Tibetan anatomy, while its close association with Tantric Buddhism makes Tibetan medicine comprehensive. The living body is seen as 'a substratum upon which the three humoral fluids –

⁴ For a parallel presentation of a certain interpretation of Ayurveda being taken to be *the* Ayurvedic tradition see pp. 197-199 of Rahul Peter Das, 'Paths Straight and Crooked to Indian Medical Knowledge', *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society* 4, 1995, 196-206.

phlegm, bile and wind – ensure the various vital functions’ (p.122), and the human being is considered as a combination of body, consciousness, perception, emotion and will power without postulating a Cartesian hierarchic order. Anatomical and astrological illustrations from the *Kālacakratantra* (treatise on the wheel of time) marvellously demonstrate the view of man as a microcosm. According to Meyer this Indian text – which reached Tibet in the eleventh century – contains psycho-physiological speculations on body channels and the humour wind (*vāta*). Meyer’s transparent style, building on vast knowledge, creates an excellent introduction to this aesthetic humoral pathology. Besides basic concepts, nosology, diagnostic techniques like pulse reading and urine analyses, therapeutic measures like medication, diet, rules of conduct, as well as external remedies like compresses, fomentation, baths, embrocation, blood-letting, cauterisation, moxibustion and minor surgery are all paid attention to by the author.

In his third contribution to this guide Meyer deals with the state of Tibetan medicine in contemporary Tibet. His listing of facilities like hospitals, education and research is meagre. He has nothing to say on important topics like the relationship between contemporary practice and national politics, resistance, identity and modernisation, issues which are important in Tibet under Chinese rule.⁵

An abstract of the biography of the Tibetan monk and traditional physician Khenpo Troru Tsenam, professor and director of the Traditional Tibetan Hospital in Lhasa, and a short article on the revival in the last decade of Tibetan medicine within Tibet by Khenpo Troru Tsenam himself, conclude the section on Tibetan medicine. After the Cultural Revolution, which was catastrophic for Tibetan culture, pragmatic and political considerations led to Chinese support for Tibetan medicine. According to Khenpo Troru Tsenam, more patients than ever before are treated by contemporary Tibetan medicine which is a merger with biomedicine. The production of traditional medicines in Tibet also seems to be booming.

In the third section, ‘The World of Chinese Medicine’, Dan Vercammen, director of the Taoist Study Centre in Antwerp and practising physician, initiates the reader thoroughly into traditional Chinese medicine. Classical texts, theoretical foundations – the five elements, vital power (*qi*), *yin* and *yang* as

⁵ For relevant information on these topics consult Graig R. Janes, ‘The Transformations of Tibetan Medicine’, *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 9.1, 1995, 6-39.

the principles of change –, causes of disease, diagnosis and therapeutic techniques like acupuncture, moxibustion and herbal therapy are well introduced in this long article.

The middle of this section consists of four articles written by traditional physicians and scientists from China, Taiwan, Vietnam, Korea and Japan. All authors make a plea for the further development of integrative traditional medicine. Especially in China and Vietnam there seems to be no awareness that this trend threatens the survival of Chinese medicine. Moreover the juggling with traditional and biomedical concepts by some of the contributors does not install trust (cf. p.200). But especially the claim of one of the authors that cured cancer patients after being honoured by the Chinese government with the title 'anti-cancer-star' are 'organised as an itinerant group to proclaim their victory over death' (p.199) makes one sceptical. On the other hand the guide contains a more balanced contribution from Taiwan which pleads for the use of Chinese herbs as a complementary cure, because they 'can help to relieve cancer patients to a certain degree' (p.207). The articles from Taiwan and South Korea provide interesting information on education and professional organisations of traditional healers, as well as on pharmaceutical research on traditional preparations. The Taiwanese contribution is the one most explicit on what 'integrated medicine' means. Integrated medicine is seen as a syncretic undertaking which combines Western technology, biomedical nosology and Chinese traditional medicines prepared by modern pharmaceutical techniques (cf. p.205).

This section is concluded by two excellent articles on Japanese medicine. Ineke Van Put's contribution contains descriptions of developments within Japanese Medicine of the past fifteen hundred years, which is marked by the Japanisation of different foreign medical traditions. This is illustrated by the second article on the Japanese medical tradition, which focuses on Kanpo-herbal medicine based on traditional Chinese medicine. In 1994 the turnover of Kanpo preparations in Japan was estimated at US-\$ 1.8 billion. 80% of these medicines are prescribed by Japanese biomedical physicians. Kanpo preparations are often used in combination with Western pharmaceuticals and are expected to neutralise the effects of aggressive Western pharmaceuticals. Besides this they are often used in the treatment of stomach and liver ailments and in cases of total malaise and degenerative diseases.

The guide is concluded by three splendid articles on sacral figures which are closely connected to Asian healing traditions.

Observant readers of the guide will notice the use of Western medical and pharmaceutical technologies as well as positivistic research designs within contemporary Asian medicine. Indigenous pharmaceuticals and some loosely defined synthetical concepts are the contributions from the traditional side. Structural dominance⁶ of biomedicine forces Asian healing systems to adapt to the extent that their identity is threatened. These traditions tend to a superficial herbalism based on syncretic concepts without a sound epistemological base. To get a better understanding of this syncretism⁷ I shall discuss two examples which I encountered in India. Though Ayurveda will be my main focus I expect my observations to be relevant for other Asian medical traditions. After demystifying biomedicine – which is too often unfairly used as the yardstick for judging Asian medicine – I shall give an impetus for developing a subjectivistic epistemology which will do justice to Ayurveda. To demonstrate syncretism I shall briefly discuss research done at the department of internal medicine (*kāyacikitsā*) of the Banaras Hindu University (B.H.U.), and at Jamia Hamdard, a Unani university, which is related to the biggest manufacturer of Unani preparations in India.⁸

In a clinical trial – including 50 patients of the B.H.U. and lasting one and a half years – the efficacy of three Ayurvedic brain tonics (*medhyarāsāyana*)⁹ was tested. The patients were selected because of their history of con-

⁶ I consider a medical system structurally dominant if it monopolises most of the available medical resources, is preferred by the Government and has most prestige.

⁷ I use this word without any negative connotations to indicate the fusion of traditional Indian medical views with biomedical knowledge. Potential contradictions are not accounted for.

⁸ Though both examples are not representative in a statistical sense I think they are illustrative for the main trend in research in Indian systems of medicine in the last decades. I visited the B.H.U. in January 1995 and Jamia Hamdard in April 1996. Both visits lasted for two weeks and were in the context of my PhD project 'Indigenous Pharmaceuticals: An Anthropological Research Project on Syncretic Medicines and Social Change in India'.

⁹ Data are drawn from K.K. Dwivedi and R.H. Singh, 'A Clinical Study of *Medhya Rasayana* Therapy in the Management of Convulsive Disorders', *Journal of Research in Ayurveda and Siddha* 8.3-4, 1992, 97-106. The researchers state that on the basis of ingredients mentioned in the classics different preparations were selected like *medhyavaṭī* (general name for intellect-promoting pills), *sārasvatāriṣṭa* (fermented preparation to promote intellect and fight mental disorders), *aśvagandhācūrṇa* (powder which acts as a general tonic and *rasāyana*). (I base my English descriptions of the mentioned Ayurvedic preparations on Priya Vrat Sharma, *Ṣoḍaśāṅgaḥṛdayam. Essentials of Ayurveda*, Motilal Banarsidass: Delhi

vulsive seizures. On the use of biomedical techniques the researchers state: 'With the introduction of the modern science and technology like Biotechnical techniques, Radiology, E.E.G., C.T. Scan and emergence of such other sensitive procedures the Pratyakasa [sic] Pariksa¹⁰ has been radically changed due to increasing use of instrumentation. Hence in the present study too, attempt [sic] were made to study the efficacy of selected drug on newer parameters' (Dwivedi and Singh, p.98). Actually biomedical diagnostics were used to exclude cases where epilepsy could be ascribed to a somatic aetiology, like raised intracranial tensions, meningitis, trauma and major organic lesions. The authors conclude that *medhyarasāyanas* are safe and moderately effective in the treatment of epilepsy and that E.E.G.-evaluation is necessary for further research on these medicines (Dwivedi and Singh, p.103).¹¹

Two points are of special interest to us here: (1) the indigenous category *apasmāra* is equated with the biomedical syndrome epilepsy without paying sufficient attention to the Ayurvedic construction of *apasmāra*. This is controversial because Ayurveda mainly deals with illness clusters instead of well defined illness categories. Disorders associated with altered colour or pigmentation of the skin are a case in point. The illness cluster 'morbid pallor' (*pāṇḍuroga*) consists of anaemia, jaundice and *kālā āzār* (black fever). Equating *pāṇḍuroga* with anaemia – quite common nowadays – is therefore controversial;¹² (2) it is obvious that the researchers are dealing with a biomedical ill-

1993, pp.32, 61, 100.) All drugs which stimulate the intellect are called 'brain tonics'. This category is broad and includes tonics which mothers give to their children to improve school performance.

¹⁰ Investigation based on perception.

¹¹ Actually, in this article the frequency of fits is the yardstick for measuring drug efficacy. Two other criteria – intensity and duration of fits – are only mentioned.

¹² For the illness cluster 'morbid pallor' see G.J. Meulenbeld, *The Mādhavanidāna and its Chief Commentary. Chapters 1-10, Introduction, Translation and Notes*, Brill: Leiden 1974, 626. The construction of 'jaundice' by a *vaidya* of Kathmandu has been discussed in my M.A.-thesis (available at the Medical Anthropology Unit of the University of Amsterdam) *Ayurveda in Nepal. Paramedici en syncretistische genezers*, 1994 (Universiteit van Amsterdam). Another example of an illness cluster is *kuṣṭha* which includes leprosy and skin diseases like leucoderma (see Sharma, op. cit., p. 116, R.E. Emmerick, 'Some Remarks on the History of Leprosy in India', *Indologica Taurinensia* 12, 1984, 93-105, and idem, 'Die Lepra in Indien', pp. 185-199 in: Jörn Henning Wolf (ed.), *Aussatz ◊ Lepra ◊ Hansen-Krankheit. Ein Menschheitsproblem im Wandel. Teil II: Aufsätze*, Deutsches Aussätzigen-Hilfswerk:

ness category when they state: 'Epilepsy is caused by abnormal electrical activity in a damaged portion of the brain. It is not a specific disease but is a paroxysmal syndrome which manifests as a result of excessive or abnormal functioning of the brain cells' (Dwivedi and Singh, p.97).

Because the disease is biomedically defined and explained, the tested drugs are actually the only Ayurvedic contribution. Biomedical research models focusing on groups of patients place the disease and not the diseased in the centre of attention.¹³ Constraints on the applicability of traditional Ayurvedic knowledge – like difficulties in the identification of traditional ingredients and methods of preparation –, as well as the individuality of Ayurvedic illness clusters, are not tackled by the researchers. This makes the contribution of this research towards the development of Ayurveda disputable.

Indian systems of medicine develop in line with and in contrast to biomedicine, therefore in the context of this article the differences between contemporary Ayurveda and Unani are not substantial and can be ignored.

The biggest Unani company in India is Hamdard, which holds 70% of the domestic market for Unani preparations in India.¹⁴ At Jamia Hamdard – established and partly maintained by the company – Unani preparations are researched. Hamdard's culture of science can be described by three characteristics: (1) new medicines are not born in laboratories, but in the practice of experienced *hakīms*, Hamdard's pharmacopoeia being a case in point; (2) non-

Würzburg 1986).

¹³ This phenomenon is in contrast with the Ayurvedic ideal of balancing the ingredients of a medication according to the individual needs of the patient. Gananath Obeyesekere, 'Science, Experimentation, and Clinical Practice in Āyurveda', Leslie and Young (see note 1), pp. 160–75, calls the phenomenon '*samyogic* experimentation' (p.167). In contrast, contemporary Ayurvedic treatment consists generally of the prescription of standard drugs for a specific disease. According to Dominik Wujastyk's article in the guide under discussion (see p. 181), the introduction of standardised compound medicines (*yoga*) took place in India centuries ago (p.30). Therefore, treating diseases while ignoring individual singularities cannot be exclusively ascribed to biomedical influence.

¹⁴ My calculated guess is that Indian consumers spend US-\$ 350 million every year on indigenous pharmaceuticals, which is one eighth of the total spent on pharmaceuticals. Unani pharmaceuticals hold roughly one eighth of the market of indigenous drugs. The same ratio between Ayurveda and Unani exists for colleges and hospitals and at the same time it reflects the numbers of Hindus and Muslims in India. These data only give a rough indication and do not account for Siddha, therefore prudence is called for.

toxicity of Hamdard's preparations;¹⁵ (3) the importance of elements in disease and healing.

These characteristics strongly influence drug research. Elementology – which Hamdard propagates as a new science by organising international conferences and sponsoring research – is a syncretic undertaking par excellence. It combines the elements of modern chemistry – which are seen as just an extension, due to technological developments, of the notion of the four elements recognised within the Graeco-Arabic tradition – with contemporary Unani diagnosis and therapy. Disease is conceptualised as an excess or shortage of one or more elements within the body.¹⁶ The development of Hamdard's drug *Ağmalūn* as a remedy against hypertension – defined by blood pressure – is a case in point. Laboratory studies and clinical trials – which conform reasonably well to international standards – test the toxicity and efficacy of *Ağmalūn*. The results are compared with relevant biomedical drugs and it is concluded that *Ağmalūn* is sixty times less effective but eighty times less toxic. Levels of cadmium and zinc explain the efficacy of *Ağmalūn* and it is claimed that it can replace a cocktail of toxic allopathic drugs.¹⁷ Also within Jamia Hamdard, Western research models, and biomedical laboratory instruments and tests, as well as biomedical concepts, dominate. Restoring the balance between the elements in the body is the main theoretical Unani contribution. But this balance is not the *individual* equilibrium which is considered crucial within Indian systems of medicine.

¹⁵ Iatrogenic effects will damage the body's ability to heal itself and discourage the patient. According to Hamdard's culture of science, intoxicants like Western pharmaceuticals destabilise the constitution of the patient, which affects his self-healing qualities. It is supposed that the patient's choice of medicines is primarily driven by the absence of negative side-effects and not by efficacy. Cf. R.B. Arora, 'Hakeem Abdul Hameed's Contribution to Development and Scientific Evaluation of Herbal Poly-pharmaceuticals 1982-88', pp. 64-71 in: P.C. Dandiya and S.B. Vohora (eds.), *Research and Development of Indigenous Drugs*, Institute of History of Medicine and Medical Research: New Delhi 1989.

¹⁶ Unani and Ayurveda consider the body to be a microcosm.

¹⁷ Abdul Hameed, R.B. Arora, S. Roy, S. Tamanna, S.U. Khan, E.A. Khan, T.A.V. Subramaniam, S. Shah, D.K. Balani and R. Jain, 'Long term clinical trial of *Ajmaloon*: A Cadmium-lowering Antihypertensive Unani Drug', Paper presented at the Second International Conference on Elements in Health and Disease, February 6-10, 1987, Karachi, Pakistan, and printed in booklet form (55 pages) by MAS Printers (probably published by the Institute of History of Medicine and Medical Research), New Delhi; see pp. 9, 30.

Besides the fact that contemporary research on Indian medicine is monopolised by pharmaceutical empiricism and clinical trials, contemporary medical practice is dominated by somatic determinism.¹⁸ This prostration to biomedicine can turn Ayurveda and Unani into mere suppliers of cheap medicines and can force their graduates into the position of paramedics. These developments could deprive India of an alternative to biomedicine.¹⁹ To counterbalance such an incorporation I intend to demystify biomedicine and plead for a subjectivistic epistemology.

I submit that biomedicine creates an image of itself which needs to be put into perspective. Like any system of knowledge biomedicine does not hold the absolute truth, but represents only one way of conceptualising and curing disease. Its quality rules for research and practice raise expectations which biomedicine cannot itself meet. Its not unproblematic representation of medical research and practice is too often used to depreciate competing systems like Ayurveda.²⁰ Though this is not the place to elaborate on the shortcomings of the scientific paradigm in general and its suitability as an epistemology for healing in particular, two observations concerning Ayurveda seem in place.

The structural dominance of biomedicine has forced research on Ayur-

¹⁸ Compare the research published in journals like the *Journal of Research and Education in Indian Medicine* and the *Journal of Research in Ayurveda and Siddha*, research sponsored and quoted by indigenous pharmaceutical companies, curricula of Ayurvedic colleges, and publications of government institutions like CCIM, CCRAS, CCRUM, CDRI, CIMAP. For the somatopsychic approach of Ayurveda see Mitchell G. Weiss, Amit Desai, Sushrut Jadhav, Lalit Gupta, S.M. Channabasavanna, D.R. Doongaji and Prakash B. Behere, 'Humoral Concepts of Mental Illness in India', *Social Science and Medicine* 27.5, 1988, 471-477, Dieter von Schmädel and Bernward Hochkirchen, 'Diagnosis and Therapy of Psychosomatic Diseases in Present-day Āyurvedic Medicine', *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society* 2, 1992, 89-100, and Bode, op. cit. cited in note 12, p.58, n.117.

¹⁹ The disappearance of Indian medicine is unwanted because: (1) it can make health care more expensive – Western pharmaceuticals will become more expensive in the near future, because GATT agreements will force India to respect patent rights; (2) monopolisation of medical treatment by biomedicine will deprive India of alternatives, which is highly unwanted because a single healing system cannot cure every disease; (3) it would rob India of its cultural heritage which has much to offer with respect to identity and national pride.

²⁰ The scientism of biomedicine is held to emphasise the structure of its knowledge and ignore the process by which this knowledge is produced and implemented. Cf. Allan Young, 'The Creation of Medical Knowledge: Some Problems in Interpretation', *Social Science and Medicine* 15B, 1981, 379-386.

veda in a direction which does not do justice to the latter. Approaching the body as a mechanism and glorifying Randomised Controlled Trials (RCT) are cases in point. I intend to elaborate on the former when I draw the outlines of a more suitable epistemology for Ayurveda. Besides toxicity studies, standardisation of ingredients and – to a lesser degree – isolation of chemically active ingredients, clinical RCTs are favoured for advancing Ayurveda. These RCTs are an example of standards which are imposed on Ayurveda by biomedicine while it is known that blinding – an essential part of many RCTs – is an ideal which is seldom attained.²¹ Besides the rhetoric of blinding, the strict delimitation of ‘specific effects’, ‘non-specific effects’ and ‘natural remittance’ is not tenable.²² In fact, RCTs only give a rough indication of the effect of the pharmaceutical which is under research. Patients cannot be isolated from different kinds of external influences, therefore medical intervention is only one – and often not even the most important one – of the events which influence the health of the patient.²³

The second observation concerns the technology – research models and laboratory equipment for pharmaceutical research and medical diagnosis – which Ayurveda has adopted from biomedicine. If we consider technology as the materialisation of an idea it becomes obvious that medical technologies seduce people to come to conclusions at the expense of ideas which these technologies do not materialise. The importance of X-ray technology – and its derivatives like CT-scans and sonometers – can serve as an example. These techniques aim at making diseases *visible within* the body. Without doubt this has yielded results – but at the expense of excluding other senses, like smell and taste, and neglecting social and ecological aetiological factors.²⁴

Besides the imposition of unrealistic scientific standards, the gap between

²¹ Usually one of the parties involved – the physician or the patient – or both know if a patient is assigned to an experimental or a control group.

²² Cf. Nina L. Etkin, ‘Ethnopharmacology: Biobehavioral Approaches in the Anthropological Study of Indigenous Medicines’, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 17, 1988, 23–42.

²³ Cf. Sjaak van der Geest, ‘Placebo ergo sum. Naar een antropologische interpretatie van medisch handelen’, *Medisch Contact* 51/52, 1995, 1659–1663.

²⁴ Asian healing systems are less dominated by the visual. Senses like taste, sound and smell are – at least in theory – on an equal footing. Ayurveda is known for its ecological themes; cf. Francis Zimmermann, *The Jungle and the Aroma of Meats. An Ecological Theme in Hindu Medicine*, University of California Press: Berkeley 1987.

theory and practice is the second point of criticism I want to raise. The implementation of biomedicine which is technologically oriented is hampered by economic constraints which India has to face. Also not without relevance are socio-cultural factors which influence the practice of healing. Practising medicine is a human undertaking, not a technical fix. Social factors – for instance status differences between doctors and patients – and psychological ones – like cognitions and emotions – influence the outcome of the therapeutic encounter.²⁵

It would be presumptuous to suggest that it would be possible to develop a new epistemology for Ayurveda within a few pages. In this article I shall focus on two related signalling concepts which offer a prospect for such an undertaking. The concepts are *prakṛti*²⁶ and *subjectivity*.

Biomedicine has made important achievements by conceptualising the human body as a mechanism. But reducing the body to an object which can be manipulated within research designs ignores the fact that the body is an agent interacting with its environment in a dynamic way. The French philosopher Merleau-Ponty²⁷ put the body at the centre of his structural – because of the importance attached to body schemata and pre-theoretical categories – and phenomenological – because existential phenomenology is the main research methodology – approach. Within his phenomenology the body-subject (*corps-sujet*) is a locus of meaning full of preconscious knowledge and intentions. The body does not react mechanically to environmental stimuli but moulds the surrounding world into a meaningful *Gestalt*. For example, if a person is given

²⁵ Cf. Kaja Finkler, *Physicians at Work, Patients in Pain. Biomedical Practice and Patient Response in Mexico*, Westview Press: Boulder 1991, which demonstrates the transformation – due to economic, social and cultural factors – of biomedicine within a big Government hospital in Mexico City. We are in need of such studies for the Indian situation.

²⁶ My use of the concept is not sanctioned by surveillance of the classical texts, but by its use at the B.H.U. *Prakṛti* includes: (1) the individual balance which typifies every human being; (2) the self-healing capacity which everyone possesses. Within this outlook *vikṛti* denotes the disbalance of the patient which has to be corrected to revive his self-healing capacity. In this discourse *prakṛti* is considered genotypic (innate) and *vikṛti* phenotypic (acquired). The Unani-concept *ṭabī‘at* – which includes nature, individual temperament, illness and disease – resembles *prakṛti*. Cf. Altaf Ahmad Azmi, *Basic Concepts of Unani Medicine. A Critical Study*, Jamia Hamdard: New Delhi 1995.

²⁷ M. Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, Routledge: London 1962 (first published in French as *Phénoménologie de la perception*, Gallimard: Paris 1945).

spectacles which project the surroundings upside down, after some time the body corrects this by putting the world on its feet again.²⁸

By situating the body's subjectivity in the preconscious Merleau-Ponty conceptualized the body's creative intelligence as non-reflective by nature. Many examples can be given to demonstrate the body's agency in processing its environment. Because of its importance within Ayurveda I will give the example of food. Matter becomes food by the grace of the ability of the stomach to digest it and of our blood and tissues to absorb it. In the dialogue between the body and natural substances, matter is transformed into food, and eventually food is transformed into the body-subject (*corps-sujet*). This corresponds with the transformation of food into the seven Ayurvedic body constituents (*saptadhātu*). Within contemporary Ayurvedic practice indigestible food juice (*āma*), which indicates the failure of the body to integrate food into its system, is perhaps the most important cause for disease.²⁹

If we are lenient the Ayurvedic concept of *prakṛti* – which includes the self-healing capacity of the body – can be contained within this non-reflective preconscious intelligence of the body.³⁰ Merleau-Ponty's philosophy illustrates an attempt to emphasise the body's agency and in this respect counterbalances scientism.

The second signalling concept is 'subjectivity'. Three examples illustrate the importance of subjectivity for Ayurveda: (1) the life-span and the size of body parts have meaning within the context of an individual and not as de-

²⁸ Other examples are sexual attraction and grasping an object. Note the physical and – subsequently – the psychological disorientation we experience when we completely misjudge the weight of an object which we try to lift. If this happens the body has to readjust itself. Lifting cannot be performed automatically any more and for a moment reflective consciousness has to take over from the *corps-sujet*.

²⁹ Most contemporary *vaidyas* will probably pay more attention to digestion and not to the *doṣas*. Cf. Daniel C. Tabor, 'Ripe and Unripe: Concepts of Health and Sickness in Ayurvedic Medicine', *Social Science and Medicine* 15B, 1981, 439-455.

³⁰ Because the immune system of the body protects us from disease research on the immunomodulating activities of Ayurvedic drugs is of interest (e.g. Burt H. Kroes, Albert J.J. van den Berg, K. Tuley D. de Silva and Rudi P. Labadie, 'Investigations on Nimba Arishta, an Immunomodulating Ayurvedic Drug Obtained by Fermentation', *Journal of the European Ayurvedic Society* 2, 1992, 123-133, also Burt Hendrik Kroes, *Nimba Arishta. Impact of the Preparation Process on Chemical Parameters and Immunomodulatory Activity*, Proefschrift, Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht 1990).

viations from a mean by which a class of objects is typified; (2) through balancing the *vaidya* optimises for the individual patient quality and quantity of the administered medicine;³¹ (3) subjectivity is important within *dravya-guṇa* (Indian pharmacology). Taste (*rasa*), post-digestive taste (*vipāka*) and potency (*vīrya*) are not based on objective measurement but on intersubjective agreement.³²

Quite a different indication of the importance of subjectivity within Ayurveda is the fact that Ayurvedic concepts are experience-near. They are not like biomedical concepts, which are highly abstract notions constructed by a scientific elite, therefore Ayurvedic phenomenological concepts have the potential to redirect to the patient part of the responsibility for the cure. Because they are part and parcel of Indian culture Ayurvedic concepts are 'good to think with'.³³ Though this should be appealing for supporters of Indian medicine it must not blind them to the necessity to account for intracultural variation and for changes caused by globalisation.

To demonstrate the emancipating potential of medical concepts belonging to the life-world of the patient, I shall conclude this article by discussing the meaning and the healing potential of Ayurvedic medications. Both factors will be accounted for when I briefly discuss the consumption of indigenous medicines by the Indian middle class.³⁴

Pharmaceuticalisation – consumption of industrially produced substances as the paramount solution for illness – is an aspect of globalisation. Production and consumption of Ayurvedic pharmaceuticals can be analysed as the local expression of this global trend.³⁵ These preparations embody modern pharma-

³¹ Cf. Gananath Obeyesekere, op. cit. in note 13.

³² Cf. G. Jan Meulenbeld, 'Reflections on the Basic Concepts of Indian Pharmacology', pp. 1-5 in: G. Jan Meulenbeld and Dominik Wujastyk (eds.), *Studies on Indian Medical History*, Egbert Forsten: Groningen 1987.

³³ Cf. the description of my PhD project mentioned in note 8.

³⁴ I presume that the consumers of these medicines will be found mainly in the Indian urban middle class. These people hold jobs from clerk and small shop owner to professor and have a monthly income between two thousand and twenty thousand rupees.

³⁵ Ayurvedic pharmaceuticals are important for two reasons: (1) in contemporary India medication is the paramount method of treatment; (2) the producers of these medicines have strongly influenced developments within Indian medical systems. Most of today's leading firms started their business in the beginning of the twentieth century. With their profits they

ceutical technology as well as cherished Indian values like nonviolence (*ahimsā*), purity and balance. They contrast with biomedical pharmaceuticals which are associated with toxic substances like alcohol and narcotics and refer to disharmony, aggression and quick but superficial success. Because they embody values which foster identity as well as modern technology, they represent the best of both worlds. These valued connotations make Ayurvedic pharmaceuticals not only popular but also potentially effective.³⁶ Chemical action as well as the placebo effect can account for this efficacy. The latter is triggered by the positive, identity-fostering values these preparations embody. This is reinforced by the phenomenological nature of Ayurvedic concepts which offer psychological and behavioural handles to fight illness. I am convinced that this will prove beneficial in fighting common diseases like colds, coughs and headaches, chronic and degenerative illnesses like asthma, diabetes and Parkinson's disease, and ailments which refer to sexuality and reproductivity like impotence, loss of semen, whitish discharge, dysmenorrhoea and infertility.

I consider the book of Van Alphen and Aris important because it demonstrates the healing potential and the beauty of Asian healing traditions and at the same time does not conceal the dilemmas. Condemning the syncretic nature of contemporary Asian medicine will not do. People who want to conserve these systems for one reason or the other should cooperate to prevent the impoverishment of medical options which in the end will harm us all.

financed colleges, conferences, translations of classical texts, compilations of pharmacopoeias, associations of indigenous healers and scientific research. See Charles Leslie, 'Indigenous Pharmaceuticals, the Capitalist World System, and Civilisation', *Kroeber Anthropological Society Journal*, 1988, 23-31.

³⁶ Laboratory research and clinical studies support this claim. Cf. Dandiya and Vohora, op. cit. in note 15; Etkin, op. cit. in note 22; Kroes et al., op. cit. in note 30.

On the *Vṛkṣāyurveda* of Parāśara*

RAHUL PETER DAS

In 1950 Nityendra Nath Sircar published an article entitled 'An Introduction to the *Vṛkṣāyurveda* of Parāśara'¹ in which he claimed to possess 'a long lost but much referred to manuscript on Botany in Ancient India, namely, the *Vṛkṣāyurveda* of Parāśara' (p.123). This was, as he himself wrote (p.123, n.1), the copy of a manuscript his father Jogendranath [Sircar] had owned, and this copy had now come into his possession together with a Bengali translation of a portion of the text. Nothing is known about where or when Jogendranath Sircar found the manuscript (which seems to have disappeared without leaving a trace); that it was found in Coochbehar (p.ii of the book under review) is merely a surmise which cannot at present be substantiated, though the date ('sometimes before 1928', p.x) is probably based on biographical data.

Nityendra Nath Sircar gave some specimens of the text in the article cited above, but he died in 1991 without being able to realise his plan of editing the whole text and translating it into English. This task was shouldered by his daughter Roma Sarkar, and the result is the book being reviewed here. Our sincere thanks are due to Roma Sarkar for finally making available for general scrutiny a text which, though it has been the focus of intense interest, has remained for the most part unknown for nearly fifty years.

In the text as received the last portion seems to be missing; also, the manuscript was clearly corrupt in several places. In its edited form the work consists of five sections (*kāṇḍas*), the first three of which have eight, three and two chapters (*adhyāyas*) respectively, whilst the last two have only one chapter. The first section deals with the development of plants from the seed stage, the classification of soil and regions, and the classification of various parts of plants. The other sections deal with the classification of different sorts

*A review of: *Vṛkṣāyurveda* of Parāśara (*A Treatise on Plant Science*). Sanskrit Text, English Translation and Notes with Comparative References to Modern Botany, edited by N.N. Sircar and Roma Sarkar, Sri Satguru Publications: Delhi 1996. xxxiv + 166 pp., 32 illustrations. Rs 400.—. ISBN 81-7030-441-5.

¹ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters* 16,1, 1950, 123-139.

of plants, namely *vanaspati*, *vānaspatya*, *gulmakṣupa* and *virudhavallī*. According to 1,1,15e-h, the work also contains a section on diseases and treatment of plants:

*rogalingam samuddiṣṭam vṛkṣāṇām sātmyabheṣajam
sahavyāpadakāraṇam sarvam etac cikitsite.*

The manuscript copy from which the text has been edited does not, however, contain this section.

The reader will have noticed that in the preceding paragraph two problematic terms were cited, namely *virudha*- and *vyāpada*-. The former is given in the Sanskrit prose text on p. 149 and also in the translation on p.155. We also find it in the translation on p.5, whereas the verse line translated (1,1,15c) has the correct *vīrud(vallī)*. On p. xix the English text has ‘Vīrudhavallī-kāṇḍa’. As regards *vyāpada*-, this reading is covered by the metre, but there is no comment by the editor on what this might say about the linguistic quality of this text.

These terms are nothing but chance finds, and yet they may serve as examples characterising the general quality of the edition, which is, to put it bluntly, quite unsatisfactory. Both the English and the Sanskrit sections are replete with misprints, particularly irritating in the Sanskrit section being the sporadic substitution in the opening chapter of the superscribed *r* (*rephaphalā*) by the breve sign used in Hindi to denote foreign sounds such as /ɔ/ or /ə/, or the scattering of various superscribed signs here and there in the text. There are also missing *virāmas* and *visargas*; one also finds – as, unfortunately, in many modern works from India – the individual members of Sanskrit compounds separated by gaps (as is usual in the case of English compounds).² Of course such mistakes probably are due to the typesetters, but at the very least they are evidence of shoddy proof-reading. What are, however, much more serious are the many mistakes in the Sanskrit text which can only be explained as being due to the editors. Thus, 1,1,2cd reads: *agre sasarja* (*r* as breve sign) *sthāvarātmāno vṛkṣavīrudhaḥ*, which is not only incomprehensible, but also metrically incorrect; the correct form should be: *agre sasarja sthāvarā ātmano vṛkṣavīrudhaḥ*. Such examples can be found throughout the text. Taking only p. 1, we have, apart from the example just cited: *jñātum icchantāḥ papracchūḥ*

² A good example combining many mistakes is 1,1,2ab: *brahmāsvayambhur* (as one word, with *r* as breve sign) *bhagavāna* (no *virāma* sign) *sisṛkṣu* (no *rephaphalā*, or even *visarga* sign) *vividha prajāḥ* (with gap after *vividha*).

(1,1,3g) instead of *jñātum icchantah papracchuḥ*, *vrkṣāvallyas tathā gulmā* (1,1,5e) instead of *vrkṣā vallyas tathā gulmā*, *tad evaṃ vyūhyamānatvāt (bīja-tvam)* (1,1,6e) instead of *tad evaṃ vyūhyamānatvād (bījatvam)*, *antaruṣmāvipācitam* (1,1,6h) instead of *antaruṣmāvipācitam* or *antaruṣmāvipācitam*, *vasunā vyūhyamānāt tu* (1,1,6i) instead of *vasunā vyūhyamānāt tu* or, maybe better, *vasunā vyūhyamānatvād (bījatvam)*.

The English translation is no better. Thus 1,1,6³ is translated on p. 4 as: 'Now hear me delivering these precious words as to how organic life originated. When water transformed into a jelly like substance ("Kalalaṃ"), within it was eventually formed a dense organic mass called "Piṇḍasthānuka". Then by a regulated process, it attained the nature of a germ cell. Subsequently, it went through metabolic changes induced by contact with water and by heat released from the soil. Thus regulated by terrestrial energies it was converted into a primordial germ cell (Ādi bījaṃ) [Verse 6].'

This is then obviously taken as the basis for the following statement on p. xix:

'The text gives an exposition as to how the first living cell (Adi [sic] bīja) came into existence. It states that water transforms itself into a jelly like substance (Kalalaṃ) within which a dense organic mass (Piṇḍasthānukaṃ) is formed, which in course of time, being regulated (Vyūhan) by terrestrial energy (Vasunā) is converted into germ cell (Bīja) This appears to be an elaboration of the view that is found in the Upaniṣadic texts.'

Actually, there is nothing cosmological at all in 1,1,6, which simply tells us how a seed develops:

'With regard to that, first the seed. Hear of me [its] origination, the utterance difficult to obtain (scil. dear). When water, having [first] become a *kalala*-⁴, becomes firm as a *piṇḍa*-,⁵ then, by being altered

³ Printed in the following form:

tatrāḍau bījaṃ utpattiṃ śṛṇu me durlabhaṃ vacaḥ |
āpo hi kalalaṃ bhūtvā yat piṇḍasthānukaṃ bhavet |
tad evaṃ vyūhyamānatvāt bījatvam adhigacchati ||
tatra siktā jalair bhūmir antaruṣmāvipācitam |
vasunā vyūhyamānāt tu bījatvaṃ pratipādyate ||

⁴ I am leaving this term untranslated. What is meant is proto-embryonic matter, probably a jelly-like or mucous-like mass.

⁵ This term too is left untranslated. It probably refers to a dense(r) mass.

thus, it obtains the state of being a seed. With regard to that, [when] the earth is wetted with water, it (according to the printed edition: the seed; though one does wonder whether one should not read °*vi-pācitā*, which would refer to the earth) is made to obtain the state of being a seed, cooked thoroughly (i.e. matured) by the internal heat, by being altered⁶ by *vasu*-⁷.

This clearly tells us how an ordinary seed (and not the primordial seed or the like) develops. The first part obviously refers to development within the plant or its fruit, namely due to a metabolic change of water. What the second part refers to is unclear; it could refer to further change within the plant due to the heat generated by the earth, but it could also refer to what looks like the spontaneous development of seeds within the earth, i.e. without the agency of any plant – indeed, it would make more sense to take this passage to refer to two different modes of development of seeds, since the two parts of the passage do seem to be parallel as they both refer to attainment of the state of being a seed.

This example should suffice to show the quality of the translation. Many other examples could be cited, but I think that would be pointless. The reason why I have cited this particular example is because the translation given cannot make the possible interpretation I have pointed out clear. This is a great pity, for if the latter interpretation should indeed be accurate, then it could help us in dating at least this portion of the text roughly. That ancient texts speak of animals originating by non-sexual means, i.e. spontaneously, is well known; a common classification of the animal kingdom according to the mode of birth is, for instance, *saṃsvedaja*-, *aṇḍaja*-, *jarāyuja*-, *udbhid*- (or *udbhijja*-), of which the first and the last refer to non-sexual modes. Here we might have a similar case with regard to the seeds of plants.

That the translation obfuscates this is a great pity. A good translation should strive to understand a text as it is, to be as accurate as possible, and at the same time honest, i.e. not simply brush aside difficulties.⁸ It should also

⁶ I am not translating *tu* as I am not sure whether the correct reading should not be *vyūhyamānatvād* (see above).

⁷ *vasu*- ‘property’ can have various other meanings too, among them ‘sun’, ‘fire’, ‘water’, etc. As it is not clear what is meant here, I think it is best to leave the term untranslated.

⁸ A case where one would have wished for such an honest translation is 1,2,8, where we

avoid trying to force pre-conceived notions on the text being translated. Especially the latter is a grave problem with regard to translations of Indian medical texts, particularly, but not only, translations coming from South Asia. The wholesale use of modern Western medical terminology, specially in the fields of anatomy, physiology and the classification of diseases, not only leads to an obfuscation of the actual ideas of these texts, but shows, moreover, a very evident contempt on the part of the translators for the actual thoughts of the authors of such works. The state of affairs is similar with regard to other branches of knowledge, particularly with regard to scientific literature. To me this seems to show something like a process of “posthumous colonialism”, in which ancient authors are forcibly made to conform to standards of another time and place, making their creations have no importance in their own right, but only as imitations of modern Western works, thus turning them into literary parallels to the much-caricatured wog intent on aping his colonial masters.

This is also the first impression left by the translation of the text being discussed. Without any discussion of the implications of such a procedure, technical terms of the text are translated by modern Western technical terms (including modern taxonomic nomenclature) which quite possibly might have different connotations.⁹ Judging only from the English translation, this text would be nothing but a modern textbook on botany detailing and classifying plants and their different parts, albeit in Sanskrit.

It is, of course, common knowledge that this very circumstance has been one of the reasons for hailing this text as one of the more important works of Indian literature; the other reason given was its supposed ancientness. In his article mentioned above, N.N. Sircar not only described and translated the text in the manner indicated in the preceding paragraph, but also made the claim that, since a Parāśara is mentioned in the *Carakasamhitā* as a contemporary of Agniveśa, and since the work he was introducing was also ascribed to a

have *kaṣāyakaṭutiktārūkṣarasānvitā vṛkṣā[h]* (*°rūkṣa°* is printed as *°rukṣa°*, also once more in 1,2,8 and in 1,2,10), which is translated on p.10 as ‘plants containing astringent (Kaṣāya), pungent (Kaṭu) and bitter (Tikta) sap’, with no mention of the – in the given context difficult – term *rūkṣa-*.

⁹ Cf. in this context also the translation of *kalika-* and *koraka-* by ‘ovary immediately after fertilization’, which at once leads to notions on the process of plant reproduction which the Sanskrit terms do not convey, by S. Sundara Rajan, ‘*Amarakōśa* as a Source of Hindu Botany’, *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* 68.2, 1977, 58-70 (see p.63).

Parāśara, these two Parāśaras must willy-nilly be one and the same person! He even went so far as to write (p. 124): 'There is no doubt that Charaka, Suśruta and other authors of the Ayurvedic Pharmacopœias have followed the Botany of Parāśara in naming the plants and herbs that have been mentioned in their works.' No proof was adduced, as also not for the statement on p. 123 that this text was 'long lost but much referred to'; indeed, it would have been quite a sensation if Sircar had not left it at such mere statements, but actually given such proof, maybe from sources known to him, but unknown to others.¹⁰ It may in this context also be pointed out that Parāśara seems to have been an extremely common name, and we know of Parāśaras who were regarded as authorities not only on medicine, but also on Nīti, astrology/astronomy, Smṛti, agriculture (along with some other sciences),¹¹ and that all these sciences have, as is well known, together with other sciences such as Vāstuvidyā, points of contact with Vṛkṣāyurveda inasmuch as Vṛkṣāyurveda texts seem to have freely availed themselves of the data of these branches of knowledge.¹²

¹⁰ In their introduction to the *Kṛṣiparāśara* (*Kṛṣi-Parāśara* (Bibliotheca Indica 285) edited and translated by Giriya Prasanna Majumdar and Sures Chandra Banerji, Calcutta 1960), G.P. Majumdar and S.C. Banerji were rather more circumspect in that they tried only to equate the Parāśara this work is attributed to with the author of the *Parāśarasmṛti* and thus date it to between the sixth and the eleventh centuries, though they too attempted to date the work they edited with arguments about which even the author of the *Foreword* to this very same edition, S.K. De, wrote that 'one must confess to a doubt'. This is not, however, to deny that there seems to be a pre-modern tradition of a Parāśara having written a work on agriculture; see on this e.g. op. cit. in note 12, p. 1, n. 4, which also draws attention to the statement *kṛṣitantram vṛddhaparāśarādipranītam* in Bhaṭṭasvāmin's commentary on the *Arthaśāstra*. It is probable, though not yet proven conclusively, that the authority meant by this tradition is the author of the *Kṛṣiparāśara*. Should the two indeed be identical, then an analysis of this tradition should play a larger role in the efforts to date the text than hitherto. How difficult this is, and how quickly we may enter the realm of legend here, is shown by the following remark of Acchelāl in his *Prācīn bhārat meṃ kṛṣi (prārambhik kāl se 650 īś'vī tak)*, Vārāṇasī 1980, 126: *uttarādhyayan ṭikā meṃ aise hī ek pāṛāśar gṛh'pati kā ullekh hai. kṛṣi meṃ kuśal hone ke kāraṇ use 'kṛṣi pāṛāśar' kahā jātā thā*.

¹¹ It is of course also possible that what we have are not actual authors called Parāśara, but ascriptions to one and the same Parāśara, who could, however, hardly have been the author of the various works from different ages attributed to him.

¹² On such points of contact cf. *Das Wissen von der Lebensspanne der Bäume. Surapālas Vṛkṣāyurveda* kritisch ediert, übersetzt und kommentiert von Rahul Peter Das. Mit einem Nachtrag von G. Jan Meulenbeld zu seinem Verzeichnis 'Sanskrit Names of Plants and their Botanical Equivalents' (Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien 34), Stuttgart 1988, 17ff.

The rather over-enthusiastic comments of N.N. Sircar would probably have been classed as hyperbole and the whole matter subjected to a more sober appraisal had it not been for the efforts of G.P. Majumdar, who was much respected internationally. In his 'The History of Botany and Allied Sciences (Agriculture, Medicine, Arbori-Horticulture) in Ancient India (c. 2000 B.C. to 100 A.D.)'¹³ he apodictically dated this work as 'c. 1st century B. C. or A. D. or earlier?', adding: 'This treatise was made the basis of botanical teaching preparatory to medical studies in ancient days as Botany is done in modern times' (p.107). Historians of botany who were unable to verify the matter themselves were probably relying on Majumdar's authority when calling this text one of the oldest systematic works of botany known. A case in point is Earl L. Core, who writes:¹⁴ 'One of the earliest works dealing with plant life from a scientific standpoint is the *Vrikshayurveda* (science of plants and plant life). A manuscript of this work, compiled by Parasara probably before the beginning of the Christian era, was discovered recently.'

The point here is not whether the work is actually to be dated as proposed; that will be taken up below. Rather, what I wish to emphasise here is the manner in which apodictic statements have been taken at face value and propagated as proven facts because they obviously fit certain notions which were and still are current in South Asia. On the one hand we could have here a process which many observers attribute to an inferiority complex typical of colonised peoples, as a result of which these try to assuage their feelings of powerlessness and insecurity by trying to prove that, even though subjugated in the present, they were far superior to their rulers in all or most fields in by-gone ages.¹⁵ I do not know whether this explanation is correct, but even if it is, then it explains this process only partly. What seems to me to be equally or maybe even more important in this context is the notion I have already remarked upon in connection with

¹³ *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences* 4, 1951, 100-133.

¹⁴ *Plant Taxonomy*, Eaglewood Cliffs, N.J. 1955, 27.

¹⁵ I remember how, as a schoolboy in Calcutta, I was amazed to hear our Bengali teacher expound in class about how Indians had been the most civilised race on earth and conversant with true marvels of science at a time when the forefathers of modern Europeans still lived on trees. Even at that time I somehow could not reconcile this with what I had learned about the long time spans necessary for the various stages in the evolution of the human species!

‘Indian medicine, which traditionally is, like most disciplines, regarded as consisting of eternally valid knowledge with eternally fixed contents (which is the opposite of the evolutionary concept of knowledge Westerners are today used to), parts of this vast eternal (and divine) knowledge having been handed down to certain special humans, different individuals not necessarily receiving the same parts in this way. Hand in hand with this concept goes that of authoritativeness based on age ...’¹⁶

The tendency to see all knowledge (and not only medical or scientific knowledge) as eternal and already fully revealed in the past is well-known to scholars (and also found in pre-modern Western society including the Christian West);¹⁷ it is to be met with in modern times too, a very illuminating example being the statement of Paraśurāma Śāstrin that homoeopathy and allopathy too (along with other forms of treatment) have been subsumed under medical knowledge by the ancient teachers of Āyurveda.¹⁸ This is, it is true, a rather extreme example of the traditionalistic mode of looking at the matter, but many modern scholars particularly from South Asia are clearly influenced – often to a considerable degree – by such a mode of thinking, even when expressly remarking on the process of historical development. As regards Āyurveda, it was Jean Filliozat who pointed out that those trying to enhance its

¹⁶ ‘On the Nature and Development of “Traditional Indian Medicine”’, *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society* 3, 1993, 56–71 (see p. 65).

¹⁷ Cf. on the Indian side for instance Sheldon Pollock, ‘The Theory of Practice and the Practice of Theory in Indian Intellectual History’, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105, 1985, 499–519 (see pp. 512ff.), and, ‘From Discourse of Ritual to Discourse of Power in Sanskrit Culture’, *Journal of Ritual Studies* 4, 1990, 315–345 (see pp. 322ff., with further relevant literature especially on p. 344), as well as J.A.B. van Buitenen, pp. 23–40, 215–217 in: ‘On the Archaism of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*,’ *Krishna: Myths, Rites and Attitudes*, ed. Milton Singer, Honolulu 1966, 35f.

¹⁸ P. 6 of the *Bhūmikā* in *The Śārṅgadharā-Saṁhitā* by Paṇḍit Śārṅgadharāchārya son of Paṇḍit Dāmodara. With the commentary Adhamalla’s [sic] *Dīpikā* and Kāśirāma’s *Gūḍhārtha-Dīpikā* (Jaikrishnadas Ayurveda Series 53), ed. Paraśurāma Śāstrī, 3rd ed., Varanasi/Delhi 1983: *iha hi āyurvedasāstre carācaraprāṇinām anugrahārthaṁ maharṣibhir nānācikitsā abhihitā drśyante. tathā hi*

hetuvyādhiviparyastaviparyastārthakāriṇām

auśadhānnavihārāṇām upayogaḥ sukhāvahaḥ.

padyenānena vartamānahomyopaithik, elopaithik, jalacikitsā-vratacikitsādayaḥ sarva-vidhayaḥ sūcitāḥ.

glory by such methods actually do it a great disservice, serving rather to discredit the whole system so much that it runs the risk of not being taken seriously any more, in which context he also observes that, if Āyurveda is nothing but modern medicine presented in an obfuscating manner, it retains neither any specificity nor usefulness;¹⁹ indeed one would have to ask what reason anybody should today have to study it at all if the same knowledge can be gained elsewhere in a much clearer and more practical form.²⁰

A similar development has unfortunately taken place, *mutatis mutandis*, in the case of the text we are dealing with. The eulogies of N.N. Sircar and G.P. Majumdar, obviously based on the equation: older = better = superior or at least equal to whatever modern (Western) science has, have had the unfortunate effect of making it impossible to analyse and evaluate the text merely on its own basis and while striving for objectivity, for the whole discussion seems to have boiled down to whether or not the text indicates that in ancient India modern scientific knowledge was anticipated, with covert implications of cultural superiority/inferiority. In other words, this discussion seems at times to have left the grounds of scholarly discourse and entered the field of apologetics and cultural conflict. A clear indication of this is that those arguing in favour of the text being ancient seem on the whole to have been content to show not that it is indeed ancient, but that the aprioristic assumption that it is

¹⁹ *La médecine indienne traditionnelle[.] son intérêt scientifique et pratique actuel. Table ronde sur L'apport des médecines asiatiques à la médecine universelle. Strasbourg, 21-23 Mai 1976* (Scientia Orientalis 5), Strasbourg 1977, 9: 'Si la médecine āyurvédique n'est que la moderne obscurément exprimée, elle n'a plus de spécificité ni d'utilité.'

²⁰ That not trying by all means to make Āyurveda conform to modern Western medical models can actually strengthen the case for taking it seriously in its own right is shown by Gaṅgādhara Gopāl Guṇe in his Hindi *Prastāv'nā* to *The Kalyāṇa-Karākam* [recte: *Kalyāṇa-Kāraḥ*] of *Ugrādityacharya* (Sakharam Nemchand Granthmala 129), ed. Vardhaman Parshwanath Shastri, Sholapur 1940, p.(11). According to Guṇe, modern physicians are lulled into a false sense of certainty by what he calls modern *Jantusāstra*, i.e. the science of [microscopically small] living organisms. These organisms are, according to him, merely like seeds which need the right conditions of soil to grow; in other words, they need favourable conditions. Since not all people are similarly afflicted by diseases, it follows that these organisms, like other such factors, are only the *causa efficiens* (*nimitt'kāraṇ*, Sanskrit *nimitta-kāraṇa*); Āyurveda, by contrast, teaches how to create conditions unfavourable for all such factors leading to disease. In other words, Āyurveda and modern Western medicine are not concerned with the same. It is clear that this manner of looking at the matter allows differences to remain differences and does not require any apologetic kowtowing.

cannot be conclusively disproved, or to maintain that the fact that certain characteristics of this text are also found in ancient texts is proof of its too being ancient, which then serves to turn the assumption into a statement of fact. A good example of this is the learned *Foreword* (pp.i-ix) by Dileep Kumar Kanjilal to the edition of the text being reviewed, which makes no effort to arrive at a date for the text by critical analysis without preconceived notions, but expends considerable effort and learning on defending the postulate of its being very ancient, at least as regards its 'basic text' (p.viii); this clearly blocks off all other avenues of enquiry. In this respect, the *Introduction* signed by 'Editors' (was it really written by both N.N. Sircar and Roma Sarkar?) is much more circumspect, since it only draws attention to the views of others on the ancientness of the text or the identity of the author, but refrains from any explicit adherence to these views (p.xv).

However, this review is not the place for going into the pros and cons of the argument on this subject as brought forward by various scholars. On the other hand, the matter simply cannot be ignored, since grave doubts have been expressed not only regarding the age, but also the very authenticity²¹ of this text. What I therefore propose to do is list some salient points for dispassionate consideration in the course of a subsequent, more detailed and objective, discussion of the matter; in the process I shall also try to highlight how individual points might be seen from either side of the debate.

The ascription of the work to some Parāśara tells us nothing about either the actual author(s) or about the date of the work. Ascriptions to old and venerable personages are so common in Indian works that as evidence such an ascription is of little value; thus attempts to link the author(s) with known or mythical personages on the basis of the name only are pure speculation unless we find other, independent evidence. As already pointed out on p.201 (see also note 10), a Parāśara or several Parāśaras has or have been cited in various sources as an authority or authorities on a variety of śāstras, though, as far as I can see, not on Vṛkṣāyurveda. An authority on astrological and mantic literature named Parāśara seems, moreover, to have been one of the more important sources of knowledge for Varāhamihira; this Parāśara must, therefore, belong to the time just after the beginning of the Christian era at the latest. His work, or at least parts of it, must have been known even after Varāhamihira's time

²¹ 'Authenticity' is here used to mean that the text is indeed a traditional work and not one simply being passed off as traditional.

until at least the tenth century A.D., for Bhaṭṭotpala in his commentary on the *Brhatsamhitā* gives us several verses which he attributes to Parāśara, among them also the following verse (in his commentary on *Brhatsamhitā* 29,14):

*acchidrapattrāḥ susnigdhāḥ phalapuṣpasamanvitāḥ
nirdīśanti śubham vṛkṣā viparītāṃ vigarhitāḥ.*

This verse has been taken by Kanjilal (p.ii) to be ‘dwelling on the features of plants’; since this statement is not qualified, it seems that what he means is that the verse tells us that plants with the given characteristics (leaves without holes, shiny/well-rounded, with fruits and flowers) are good (= healthy?), those without them not. But the verse very clearly says that trees with the features mentioned point to what is favourable, and that is squarely in accord with what chapter 29 of the *Brhatsamhitā* deals with, namely prognostication from the appearance of certain plants and plants in general.²² There can thus be no reasonable doubt that the verse cited by Bhaṭṭotpala is from the authority on astrology and prognostication called Parāśara whom he also cites in quite different mantic or astrological/astronomical contexts; as such, it is irrelevant for the problem of the identity of the Parāśara we are here concerned with, unless one apodictically simply equates the two. One thus wonders why this verse is specially mentioned by Kanjilal. I strongly suspect that it has a bridge-building function here. Just a little before he mentions it, Kanjilal remarks that ‘Parāśara is also credited with works on medicine’ (and other

²² Verses from this chapter are also to be found in chapter 11 (*Tarucikitsāpoṣaṇavicitrī-karaṇadohadavarṇana*) of book 6 of the *Śivatattvaratnākara*, in the last chapter (*Annādinīspatti*) of Surapāla’s *Vṛkṣāyurveda*, and in chapter 82 (*Vṛkṣāyurveda*) of the *Śārṅga-dharapaddhati* (though not in all manuscripts) (cf. the concordance in op. cit. in note 12, p. 51) (these verses of course do *not* include the verse cited by Bhaṭṭotpala, which is not part of the *Brhatsamhitā*). The source is clearly the *Brhatsamhitā*, unless we assume that Varāhamihira did not compose these verses himself, but took them verbatim from some other, unknown source. But even in that case the texts cited, the oldest of which is several centuries later than the *Brhatsamhitā*, could well have taken the verses from Varāhamihira’s text (though this cannot, of course, be proved). In any case, it must be emphasised that even though texts of *Vṛkṣāyurveda* clearly belonging to later times have also commented upon divination or prognostication (of rain, drought, famines, good or bad crops, etc.) the fact remains that the subject as such has in all probability been taken from the realm of mantic or astrological literature (to which the work of Parāśara which Varāhamihira and Bhaṭṭotpala both refer to belongs too); that it is not an integral part of *Vṛkṣāyurveda* is shown not only by the fact not only that even some manuscripts of the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* do not have them, but also – and more important – that most other *Vṛkṣāyurveda* texts do not refer to the matter at all.

sciences), i.e. Āyurveda. Parāśara is thus associated with Āyurveda, and – through the verse quoted – with trees (*vṛkṣa-*), from which the inference seems to be: *vṛkṣa-* + *āyurveda-* = *vṛkṣāyurveda-*! This can then lead to the following statement: ‘Thus we find that there is a great tradition associated with the name of Parāśara who might be a progenitor of a school and it can at best [sic] be inferred that the author of the present text may belong to that school.’ This can hardly be taken seriously, and so it seems best to drop the matter of Bhaṭṭotpala’s quotation from a discussion of the subject.

On the other hand, Kanjilal is quite correct in noting (p. iii): ‘Dependence on a single Ms can not be taken as a sign of weakness as the Bhelasamhitā has survived till now through a single Ms.’ This is, one may add, also the case not only as regards the important medical text *Kāśyapasaṃhitā*, but also works on Vṛkṣāyurveda such as Surapāla’s *Vṛkṣāyurveda* and the *Mānavavṛkṣāyurveda* (which I am presently editing), along with some other, more minor, works of this genre. Thus the number of manuscripts on which the work is based is not a factor which can seriously influence the argument on the matter.

The same can be said on the language of the text. In his analysis (pp. iii-v) Kanjilal notes several peculiarities which seem to accord with archaic usage. But that does not tell us whether what we have here is truly archaic or merely the work of an archaiser. In some cases the text also deviates from the norms of classical Sanskrit in other respects.²³ Such deviations could, if they are not plain mistakes of the author(s), scribe(s) or editor(s), be a sign of colloquial, spoken Sanskrit; they could also be intentional – by someone with an excellent knowledge of the language – to give the text the appearance of being non-classical and thus, by implication, archaic. Language can, in this case, only be an additional criterion for dating the text when other criteria first give us more concrete leads to follow. This also applies to the outer garb of the text (prose and verse alternating, with recapitulatory verses at the end of some chapters). In short, even if all these features should indeed ‘assign an antique flavour to the present Ms.’ (Kanjilal on p. v), this would still not mean that the text therefore *is* antique.

It thus seems to me that the only way in which we can have some hope of gaining more concrete evidence, one way or the other, is by an analysis of the contents of the text without recourse to its outer garb. However, even here we

²³ As regards the use of *khalu* to begin a sentence, there are several more instances than those noted on p. v.

face similar difficulties. Thus the fact that certain geographical names in the text are also found in old works tells us nothing about the age of this text itself, for it could nevertheless be quite recent. Conversely, even if such names had been absent in older works, it would not automatically have entailed that our text would then have to be called recent.

Let us therefore turn to another item, namely the use of the suffix *-īya* in the first line (the Gadyasūtra, to use the technical term) of most (though not all) chapters to refer to the chapter following. Kanjilal has not failed to note (p. iii) that this is ‘a style which also marks the texts of both Caraka and Suśruta’²⁴ – and, we may add, also the *Aṣṭāṅgahr̥daya*, the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, the *Bhelasamhitā* and the *Kāśyapasamhitā*, though in various degrees of frequency. Here too, in principle the same arguments apply as in the foregoing cases, i.e. this may be taken to be the sign of a certain age, or else it may be a skilful means of making the text appear to have a certain age. But even with these caveats we can garner some useful information.

Albrecht Wezler²⁵ has examined this usage in the works attributed to Caraka, Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa and come to the following conclusion (p.302):

‘There is hence a great likelihood indeed that the names of *adhyāyas* formed by the secondary suffix *-īya-* and meaning “containing [the words XY]”, i.e., in most cases, “beginning” with these words, testify to the survival of a device developed in the *Brāhmaṇas* and used in still later Vedic literature by priest-scholars for the purpose of easy and at the same time clear reference to certain parts of the texts – and a device at that which, at least originally, presupposed an oral transmission, and a corresponding knowledge, of the texts referred to, and which has nothing to do with the division of the text into *sthānas*, etc., not to speak of the counting of the *adhyāyas* within one and the same *sthāna* or of the verses/prose sections of which an *adhyāya* happens to consist. And, to be sure, it is legitimate to draw such a historial line “between the Veda and the Āyurveda” even though the texts of each group that happen to have been preserved do not necessarily follow one upon the other in close

²⁴ The setting at the beginning of our text, in which several sages converge at a certain place to obtain instruction, reminds one of these texts too.

²⁵ ‘On a Prose Passage in the Yuktidīpikā of Some Significance for the History of Indian Medicine’, *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society* 3, 1993, 282-304.

sequence as regards their relative chronology.'

On pp. 302-304 Wezler then gives a list of such references in the *Carakasamhitā*, *Suśrutasamhitā*, *Aṣṭāṅgahr̥daya* and *Aṣṭāṅgasan̄graha*. What this list contains are references to another chapter of the respective text by means of an expression ending in *-īya*; all these cases are taken from the main body of the texts concerned, not the Gadyasūtras. An analysis of the expressions ending in *-īya* shows that they are of two kinds: on the one hand the suffix is added to the word or a compound formed of the words with which the chapter referred to begins, while on the other the suffix is added to a word or compound which states what the chapter in question is about. When one now turns to the Gadyasūtras of these texts, one finds exactly the same state of affairs. However, the concentration of cases in which the suffix is added to the word or words actually beginning a chapter is particularly heavy in the *Carakasamhitā* (also in the case of references not in the Gadyasūtras, but in the main body of the text), whereas the reverse is true of the other texts. Now from a historical point of view the former mode of reference, which is in accord with the Vedic usage, is clearly older; as such, the distribution of the two kinds of expression ending in *-īya* seems to be in accord with the hypothesis that the *Carakasamhitā*, or at least certain parts of it, is older than the other texts mentioned.²⁶

Now as regards the *Vṛkṣāyurveda* attributed to Parāśara, all expressions containing the *-īya* suffix in the Gadyasūtras are of the second kind mentioned above, i.e. give the contents of the chapters concerned and not the actual opening wording. From this we can infer that, should this text indeed be old, then it would nevertheless belong to a time when the mode of referring to a chapter by means of its actual wording had been completely forgotten. It would thus in no way predate the older portions of the *Carakasamhitā*.

Unfortunately for us, the use of *-īya* could also be the work of a conscious archaiser. Thus, though in this way we may arrive at an upper limit for

²⁶ Whether the varying usage within the same text can also be used in dating its various parts is something that cannot be discussed here. It should in this context, however, be borne in mind that the relation between the Gadyasūtras and the chapters which they introduce (and this includes the problem of establishing when such Gadyasūtras came to be used) has not been adequately studied yet. One must also remember that texts such as the *Aṣṭāṅgahr̥daya* and the *Aṣṭāṅgasan̄graha* are on their own express testimony composite, containing parts culled directly from other works, and this also seems to include expressions ending in *-īya* and referring to certain chapters.

the age of the text, we still have not found anything which could help one to arrive at a clearer date or to resolve the question of the authenticity of the text.

Let us therefore take a closer look at the contents of the work. Of these, S. Sundara Rajan²⁷ has written: 'Of all botanical works in Sanskrit the Vrksh-āyurveda of Parāsara perhaps is the most significant as it reveals a profound and indepth knowledge of Plant Science, *surprisingly not seen in other works*.' I have italicised the last part of this quotation, for exactly herein lies the crux of the matter. With the exception of some extremely general matters such as, for instance, the general classification of plants into *vanaspati*-, *vānaspatya*-, *vīrudh*-, *vallī*-, *gulma*- and *kṣupa*- (or similar classifications), and the areal classification into *jāṅgala*-, *ānūpa*- and *miśra*-, the whole elaborate classification of plants and – more importantly – plant parts, as well as the quite interesting technical terminology (in the form either of otherwise unknown words or of a hitherto unknown usage of known words²⁸) seems not to be known to the *whole* huge mass of Sanskrit literature, at least as far as has hitherto been ascertained. What makes this all the more striking is that topics found in other Vrkṣāyurveda texts are found discussed in a wide variety of other texts (also in such of a philosophical nature), so that we can safely assume that Vrkṣāyurveda was no esoteric knowledge hardly known outside small and select circles. All this is truly so astounding that any comment becomes superfluous.

No quotations from this work have so far turned up in other works either,

²⁷ 'Systematic Botany in Ancient India', *Scientific Heritage of India. Proceedings of a National Seminar, September 19-21, 1986, Bangalore*, ed. B.V. Subbarayappa and S.R.N. Murthy, Bangalore 1988, 162-169. See p. 166.

²⁸ In this respect it may be noted that Kanjilal writes (pp. ivf.) that the word *kārava*-, used in a technical sense in this text, and which 'in all probability refers to the spoke of an umbrella can be traced only in the texts of medicine like the Caraka Samhitā and the Suśruta Samhitā in the particular sense', giving, however, a reference only to 'Susruta Samhita, Sutra-sthana, Ch. 46'. I went through the whole voluminous chapter, but could not find *kārava*-. Then I consulted the complete index of the *Carakasamhitā*, *Suśrutasamhitā*, *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, *Aṣṭāṅgasan̄graha* and *Siddhasāra* which has been prepared at the University of Hamburg, but turned up only *kāravī*-/ *kāravi*-, *kāravella*- and *kāravallī*-. Is Kanjilal referring to some edition of the *Suśrutasamhitā* different from the one I used and which was also the one the index just mentioned is based upon (ed. Jādavji Trikamji Āchārya and Nārāyaṇ Rām Āchārya, 3rd ed., Bombay 1938)? It should also be noted that no bibliographical reference for the *Carakasamhitā* is given at all. Of course, all this is ultimately not really relevant to the special problem being discussed above, but it is nevertheless quite irritating to find that one has been led on a wild-goose chase in one's efforts to follow up what seem to be promising leads.

not even oblique references. As it is, there do not seem to be any mentions or allusions at all even to an authority on Vṛkṣāyurveda called Parāśara. This too is astonishing.

What is even more important is the fact that the subject matter of the printed portion of the *Vṛkṣāyurveda* attributed to Parāśara is, with minor exceptions such as those mentioned on p.210, not found in the works on Vṛkṣāyurveda known so far.²⁹ The number of works known and available for scrutiny is, by now, however, quite large; unfortunately, this knowledge does not seem to be available to the relevant scholarly circles in South Asia.³⁰ As regards works such as those published in the series of the Lok Swasthya Parampara Samvardhan Samithi in Madras this is no great drawback, for such publications are popularising (and as such highly desirable), laying no claim to – and indeed not having any great – scholarly value. But when in a scholarly study, as in the case of the work under review here, only a fraction of the literature available is mentioned (by the editors on p.xiv),³¹ things are different. Moreover, even the works mentioned are not really compared with our text – indeed, Kanjilal does not even mention other works on Vṛkṣāyurveda, which the editors have at least done. As regards the latter, though they too have made no effort systematically or even sporadically to consider the wealth of data in other Vṛkṣāyurveda texts, they make the following remark (pp.xivf.), which is, however, in some respects puzzling: ‘In contrast to these traditional texts or manuals of the Vṛkṣāyurveda mentioned above which mainly dwell on practical aspects of plant science, Parāśara’s Vṛkṣāyurved, the manuscript edited

²⁹ Conversely, the matter found in these works is not found in our work. However, it must be borne in mind that a portion of the text (intriguingly, that very portion which would have lent itself to detailed comparisons and conclusions!) is missing according to the verse cited on p. 197 above.

³⁰ Moreover, there seems to be a marked deficiency in North India vis-à-vis South India in this respect; the various Sanskrit Vṛkṣāyurveda texts published in the Telugu and Malayalam scripts continue to remain unknown in North India.

³¹ And even then the information given is wrong in some respects. Thus we find on p. xiv the statement: ‘There also exists a separate text on the Vṛkṣāyurveda attributed to Śurapāla, a work of later date (12th cent. A.D.) which bears an elaborate account only on the treatment of plant diseases’. Anyone who has held the text of Surapāla’s *Vṛkṣāyurveda* in his hands cannot have failed to notice that only a portion (verses 165-222 out of a total of 325 verses) deals with the diseases of plants. (Incidentally, this work is not merely ‘attributed to’ Surapāla, as he names and glorifies himself, and also gives his position as *antaraṅga-* of King Bhīmapāla, at the end of his work.)

here is a full-fledged treatise covering some basic aspects of Botany.’ Some questions crop up when one reads this. Thus, is the characterisation of the other texts as ‘traditional’ an indication that the editors consider the text they have edited to be, ultimately, not traditional? And if so, what does this imply? Moreover, they also seem to distinguish between ‘Botany’ and ‘Vṛkṣāyurveda’. What follows from this as regards the name and classification of the work they have edited? Or are they merely distinguishing between theory and practice?

The points raised last also bring to mind something equally interesting. It seems that until not long ago many scholars had incorrect notions on the contents of Vṛkṣāyurveda works. Thus in 1938 Girija Prasanna Majumdar equated *vṛkṣāyurveda*- with *bheṣajavidyā*- (‘the knowledge of/on medicinal plants’).³² At a later date, S. Sundara Rajan wrote: ‘Regular texts on botany in ancient Indian literature are rare. Exclusive texts on botany or chapters on plants in other texts are called *Vrkshāyurveda*.’³³ It is extremely intriguing to note that the work under review, whose discovery predates the marked increase in our knowledge on Vṛkṣāyurveda by several decades, is quite in accord with such unclear notions on the contents of traditional works of Vṛkṣāyurveda, which actually seem to have been concerned particularly with the growth and nurturing of plants (especially trees), above all in parks, groves and gardens.

Several cases in which there are points of contact with other texts on Vṛkṣāyurveda are not unproblematic either. Thus in 1,1,11f. of our text we find:

vanaspatir vānaspatyo vallī gulmaś caturvidhaḥ
teṣāṃ tu phalapākāntā tv oṣadhiḥ procyate budhaiḥ. (11)
apuṣpavanta[h] puṣpeṇa³⁴ te vanaspatayaḥ smṛtāḥ
puṣpinaḥ phalinaś caiva vānaspatyā udāhṛtāḥ. (12a-d)

Here the plant class *vanaspati*- is characterised as *apuṣpavantaḥ puṣpeṇa* ‘not characterised by flowers, [but] with flowers’. This is not in keeping with the classification not only in Vṛkṣāyurveda works, but in other works as well, which characterise the *vanaspati*- as having only fruits without flowers, the *vānaspatya*- (or *druma*- or the like) as having both fruits and flowers (see the

³² *Some Aspects of Indian Civilization (in Plant Perspective)*, Calcutta 1938, 1f.

³³ Op. cit. in note 27, p. 162.

³⁴ Printed: *apuṣpavantapuṣpeṇa*, which gives no sense.

data given in op. cit. in note 12, pp.130f.). Dalhaṇa in his commentary on *Suśrutasamhitā*, Sūtrasthāna 1,29 says expressly: *apuṣpā iti avidyamāna-puṣpāḥ*, “‘without flowers [in the text of the *Suśrutasamhitā* commented upon and characterising *vanaspati*-]’ is: with flowers not existent’. And Cakrapāṇi-datta in his commentary on *Carakasamhitā*, Sūtrasthāna 1,72 says clearly that these plants are without flowers, but with fruits (*vinā puṣpaiḥ phalair yuktāḥ*).

This system of classification was so common and well-known that even a modern author like Gurupada Hāladāra uses it without, seemingly, as much as a second thought.³⁵ Of course we know today that there are no plants which have fruits without flowers; the phenomenon referred to here is obviously that of plants on which the structures are botanically flowers, but not visible like the structures one commonly takes to be flowers (and which may, in many cases, not be actual flowers). However, this causes no problems in a system in which one supposes that, though fruits do come from flowers, not all fruits need come from flowers. The problems arise only in a system which holds that *all* fruits must come from flowers.³⁶ It is obvious that to an apologist maintaining³⁷ that this latter system must have been the one prevailing in ancient India too, there is only one way of coming to terms with this difficulty, namely by explaining ‘without flowers’ to mean ‘without flowers which can be (easily) perceived’. This is indeed what is generally done.³⁸ What the *Vṛkṣāyurveda* attributed to Parāśara has to say on the matter is squarely in accord with such apologetic statements.

³⁵ Gurupadaśarmmahāladāra, *Vṛddhatrayī*, Kalikātā Beng. era 1362, 237: *tatrāpi ye puṣpaiḥ phalanti te drumāḥ, ye puṣpaṃ vinā phalanti te vanaspatayaḥ*.

³⁶ In this connection it is also to be borne in mind that there is a difference, even today, in what a botanist understands under the term ‘fruit’ and what this denotes in everyday usage.

³⁷ Whether rightly or wrongly, shall not be discussed here.

³⁸ I shall give just two examples. According to P. Ram Manohar, *Nomenclature and Taxonomy in Vṛkṣāyurveda* (LSPSS Monograph 11), Madras 1994, 63, the definition of *vanaspati*- in texts on *Vṛkṣāyurveda* is: ‘These are big trees having inconspicuous flowers and well developed fruits.’ And in the edition of the *Suśrutasamhitā* mentioned in note 28 the editors append the following note to *apuṣpāḥ phalavanto vanaspatayaḥ* of Sūtrasthāna 1,29: *apuṣpā iti puṣpāṇām atisūkṣmatayā puṣpādhāra-karṇikayā (Receptacles) ācchāditatvāc ca adṛṣyapuṣpā iti*. Note the unease obviously felt here in using a botanical term (*puṣpādhāra-karṇikā*-) which seems to be a neologism for ‘receptacle’, requiring the addition of the latter term by way of explanation.

Matters are similar with regards to the actual sexual differentiation between male and female flowers. It is extremely doubtful whether this was known in ancient India, and this pertains also to the sexual mode of reproduction of plants. Nevertheless, we do find references to male, female (and also *klība*-, i.e. neuter!) plants of some species, but the characteristics mentioned in such cases show that often quite different species are described as male or female, so that it is debatable whether in the one or two cases in which such classifications actually coincide with the true gender this is not merely a coincidence.³⁹ There is even a case, the classification of *vatsaka*- in *Caraka-saṃhitā*, Kalpasthāna 5,3-5, where trees with big fruits (*br̥hatphala*-) are called male, and those with small ones (*phalavṛntais tathāṇubhiḥ*) female!⁴⁰

In the work under review here, however, 'we find a more clear concept of sexuality in plants, based on perfect scientific observations' (p. xxv).

There are other examples of what is on p.xxv called 'advanced concept[s]' in this text, concepts which are either not found in or are different from those of known traditional texts. But I shall not go into any more details here, as what I have referred to above should suffice to highlight the problem involved. There is, however, one last matter which must be referred to in this context, namely the mention of the plant *naktagandhā*- in 2,3 (p.126) of our text; this refers to *Polianthes tuberosa* Linn., as has been correctly written in the English translation on p.129 too. The problem is that this plant is a native of South and Middle America that was imported into South Asia not too long

³⁹ Cf. on this subject op. cit. in note 12, pp. 250f. As to the classification of the *ketakī*-referred to by Girija Prasanna Majumdar, which was regarded rather rashly on p. 251 as being perhaps 'eine moderne Interpretation', p. xxiv of the edition of our text points out that this is found in the *Rājanighaṇṭu* (which dates maybe to the fifteenth century; cf. G.J. Meulenbeld, *The Mādhavanidāna and its Chief Commentary. Chapters 1 – 10. Introduction, Translation and Notes*, Leiden 1974, 421). This is particularly intriguing inasmuch as on the same page attention is also drawn to 'the strange classification' to be otherwise found in this regard in this text. Walter Slaje has drawn attention to a statement in Bhāskaraṇṭha's *Cittānubodhaśāstra* as showing that the author is referring to the two forms, male and female, of the date-palm; see pp.259f. of 'Merkmale des Lebendigen: Zu einer naturphilosophisch begründeten Biologie in Bhāskaraṇṭhas *Cittānubodhaśāstra*', *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society* 3, 1993, 250-281. However, even if Slaje is correct in his interpretation, this would not tell us much for ancient India, as Bhāskaraṇṭha lived not before the middle of the eighteenth century.

⁴⁰ This has also been referred to on p. xxiv of the work being reviewed here, as 'a vague and inaccurate notion'.

ago, which raises the question of how it could be mentioned in an allegedly ancient Indian text.

As I have written above (see p.205), all I have attempted to do here is to list some points for future consideration; I have not tried to evaluate the text as regards its possible date or authorship. Yet the points drawn attention to are clearly such as could be used by someone arguing that what we have here is a very modern work being passed off as old. Indeed, those arguing differently would be very much on the defensive, though this does not mean that they would be without arguments. One such argument could be what I have referred to on pp.198-199, namely the possible interpretation (ironically obfuscated by the apologetic translation of the editors) of verse 1,1,6 as referring to spontaneous germination. Against this, however, is the overwhelming mass of contrary data to be considered.

Nevertheless, this example makes it clear that if a future discussion should indeed arrive at the conclusion that the work as it is is modern, that would not necessarily pertain to it in its entirety. It is also conceivable that an old core (which would, however, then have had to be rather tiny) might have been fleshed out by a modern author, in that case one influenced by the tendencies referred to on pp.199ff. above. However, I must once again emphasise that such matters are for others to decide upon, my aim having been merely to give an impetus to an objective discussion which I feel is very badly wanting.

Reviews and Notices

K.L. Pokarna, *Social Beliefs, Cultural Practices in Health and Disease* (Indian Sociological Studies), Rawat Publications: Jaipur/New Delhi 1994. ISBN 81-7033-254-9. xii + 233 pp.

According to the blurb, this work, 'based on field-work in two villages, examines the systems of traditional beliefs and practices in the wake of state sponsored health schemes. The definitions of health, sickness, nutrition, child care are being assigned by international organizations and so also certain funds. The important issues like the relationship of medicine to the local-contextual, indigenous practices, the resistance and acceptance of modern therapy, the unintended state repression have been raised and discussed in the work. Thus, it essentially brings out the hiatus between micro-level reality and macro-level planning.'

In actual fact, this is not what the book is mainly concerned with. After a theoretical and historical survey of medical sociology and a selected bibliography of relevant works, with particular reference to India, the work proceeds with a description of the notions and practices related to health and disease in the area of study, in the process also drawing attention to the important distinction between *disease* and *illness* (pp. 72f.). This part, the core of the book, is highly interesting and contains much important information, though when one has gone through it, one cannot help feeling rather despondent about the chances of a marked increase in hygiene (and hence health) if the prevalent notions pertaining to these in the villages examined do not change. One also asks about the relevance of the first part of the book with regard to this main part, since what one finds in the latter is basically a straightforward description of the actual state of affairs, with a few explanatory or theoretical remarks strewn in. This is by no means a drawback, and indeed lets the reader make his own conclusions on the basis of the data, but it does raise the question of why it was deemed necessary at all to preface these data with a theoretical discussion, which actually seems irrelevant in the context.

As to the rather critical remarks about the state and international organisations contained in the blurb of the book, the study hardly deals with such matters. What we do learn is that a majority of the villagers seem to take to non-traditional medicine as a last resort anyway (pp. 172ff.), and that they are more often than not alienated by the behaviour of those health officials they come in contact with then, as well as by the attitudes of the village officials towards matters regarding community health and hygiene. What the

remarks at the beginning of this review actually refer to are what the author writes in his last chapter ('Analysis and Conclusions', pp. 201-208). However, much of what is written in this chapter consists of rather personal musings which may have been the result of the author's own observations during his study, but which do not necessarily follow from what he has written. But if one keeps this in mind and does not place too great an emphasis on what the work is advertised as being about, one will draw much profit from the wealth of data presented in this study.

The English in which the book is written is sometimes peculiar, but on the whole it conforms to the rules of standard English. There is an index of authors and subjects at the end.

RAHUL PETER DAS

Guy Mazars, *La médecine indienne* (Que sais-je? 2962), Presses universitaires de France: Paris 1995. ISBN 2-13-046984-1. 127 pp. FF 45.—.

La collection encyclopédique sous rubrique vient de s'enrichir opportunément du présente opusculé, qui donne un aperçu, en général correct, de l'histoire de la médecine en Inde. Il est préférable d'éviter, du moins dans le titre,¹ l'expression ambiguë de 'médecine indienne', car le sous-continent se caractérise par le pluralisme médical, dans le mesure où la médecine moderne ou cosmopolite coexiste avec plusieurs traditions médicales savantes: āyurvédique, arabo-persane, tamoule et même tibétaine. Après l'introduction (pp. 3-4), le livre comporte six chapitres, qui concernent la médecine en Inde à travers les siècles (pp. 5-30), les conceptions de l'Āyurveda (pp. 31-55), la médecine préventive (pp. 56-70), les procédés thérapeutiques (pp. 71-91), la profession médicale (pp. 92-104), ainsi que les recherches sur l'Āyurveda et d'autres médecines traditionnelles (pp. 105-118). La conclusion (pp. 119-120) est suivie d'un tableau chronologique (pp. 121-122) et de la bibliographie (pp. 123-125).

Le livre ne reflète pas pleinement les progrès significatifs réalisés dans le domaine āyurvédique et annexe (p.106), où la recherche philologique et historique s'est sensiblement enrichie et renouvelée au cours de ce dernier quart de siècle, qui a vu naître aussi à l'Université de Hambourg le projet d'indexa-

¹ Cf. P.V. Sharma (ed.), *History of Medicine in India from Antiquity to 1000 A.D.*, Indian National Science Academy: New Delhi 1992.

tion des principales sources de la littérature médicale sanskrite (R.E. Emmerick et R.P. Das). Si G. Mazars, qui cite en abondance ses propres titres bibliographiques, fait référence à plusieurs contributions de G.J. Meulenbeld, il omet de mentionner des travaux importants publiés par R.P. Das (*Vṛkṣāyurveda* de Surapāla), R.E. Emmerick (*Siddhasāra* de Ravigupta), J. Liyanaratne (sources manuscrites de la médecine singhalaise), F. Meyer (médecine tibétaine) et K.G. Zysk (médecine védique, médecine bouddhique). On a même parfois le sentiment que l'auteur connaît les publications, mais qu'il ne considère pas convenable de s'y référer expressément. A ce propos, un exemple frappant est offert par le recueil des travaux de G. Liétard et de P. Cordier, en réimpression anastatique avec une longue introduction (CXXI + 615 pp.). En effet, G. Mazars renvoie seulement à la thèse sur l'Āyurveda du premier savant (Strasbourg 1858), bien que son texte, tel qu'il est rédigé (p.106, ll. 2-9), présente une ressemblance troublante avec la dédicace inscrite en tête du recueil publié en 1989 par l'Institut de civilisation indienne.

Quelques remarques de détail. Suśruta, plutôt que Jīvaka, est couramment considéré comme le père de la chirurgie indienne (p.121). On lira All India Ayurvedic Conference, non Congress (p.104). La date du traité médical Majmū'a-i Diyā'ī, écrit en persan au Dekkan, diffère (vers 1336/1320) entre les pages 20 et 122. Les *marman* désignent étymologiquement des 'points mortels', plutôt que des 'régions vulnérables' ou 'zones vitales' (p.38).² Le composé '*pañcakarma*-thérapie', forgé par l'auteur (pp.71-74), est contestable en français.

Dans la bibliographie (pp.123-125), [Shree] Gulabkunverba [Ayurvedic Society], mentionnée comme auteur, est en fait la collectivité éditrice de Caraka en six volumes (Jamnagar 1949). La traduction de ce grand classique, avec des notes critiques, par P.V. Sharma occupe quatre (non trois) volumes, parus de 1981 à 1994. Pour Suśruta, on dispose maintenant d'une traduction en anglais éditée en dix volumes par S.D. Singhal (1972-1993), meilleure que la version en trois volumes publiée par K.L. Bhishagratna (1907-1918), que cite G. Mazars. Il convient d'ajouter que l'ouvrage collectif d'anthropologie médicale édité par C. Leslie comporte une suite de facture similaire, par le même éditeur américain, en collaboration avec A. Young: *Paths to Asian Medical Knowledge* (1992).

Ces observations de détail, même multipliées, ne sauraient priver

² Voir Ḍalhaṇa sur Suśruta, *Śārīra* 6.3: *mārayantīti marmāny ucyante*.

d'intérêt l'opuscule sous rubrique, qui comble une lacune dans la collection 'Que sais-je?'. Les omissions et d'autres imperfections signalées ici sont susceptibles d'être remédiées à la faveur d'une réédition de ce livre, dont les coquilles sont apparemment rares.

ARION ROȘU

Carakasamajñā. Caraka-Saṃhitā Arranged Subjectwise, edited by Priya Vrat Sharma (Sanskrit title: *Carakasamajñā. Viṣayakramabaddhā Carakasamhitā. Priyavrataśarmaṇā pratisaṃskṛtya saṃpāditā*) (Acharya Priyavrat Sharma Ayurveda Series 1), Chaukhambha Publishers: Varanasi 1996. 57 + 478 pp. Rs 600.—.

Anyone who has used the works of the *Bṛhatrayī* knows how difficult, and often downright frustrating, searching for data on some specific topic can be. Not that these works are necessarily haphazard in their conception, but the various reworkings and additions that characterise them have all contributed to relevant material on individual subjects being scattered throughout the whole corpus of these voluminous tomes. Even the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* and the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, which expressly set out to create a more systematic synthesis of their forerunners, have not escaped this fate.

This state of affairs has not gone unnoticed in South Asia. Beginning at least from the *Siddhasāra*, including the *Laghutrayī*, and continuing right down to late texts like the *Bhāvaprakāśa*, subsequent works, inasmuch as they are comprehensive and do not confine themselves to specialised topics, have sought to systematise the knowledge of the older compendiums, at the same time, however, also modifying this traditional knowledge. The present work by Priya Vrat Sharma continues this tradition. However, Sharma does not aim at creating a synthesis of different traditions, but confines himself to a single one, namely that of the *Carakasamhitā*.

The purpose of this work is expressed by Sharma on p.18 of the introductory part: *carakaḥ samaiḥ sarvaiḥ samam sugamatvena jñāyate 'nayā*, i.e., through his work the text of Caraka is made available in an easy form (*sama*) to all (*sama*) – which also explains the title he has chosen, namely 'Knowledge of Caraka for all/in an easy form' (*carakasamajñā*). To this end, the whole text of the *Carakasamhitā* has been rearranged so that passages which in Sharma's opinion belong together, because they deal with the same topic, actually appear together. The traditional division of *sthānas* and *adhyāyas* has mostly been maintained, although there is some rearrangement, modification

and addition. The main changes, however, concern the contents of the individual *adhyāyas*, which bundle related matter culled from various parts of the *Carakasamhitā* (in the process also correcting misprints in the printed editions). We thus have basically the whole text of the latter, but arranged differently, thus, as Sharma hopes on p.22 of the introductory part, ‘making it more intelligible and systematic’. The individual *adhyāyas* contain sub-headings with English equivalents often (not always) given in footnotes. English equivalents of individual terms in the main body of the text are also at times given in a similar fashion, and on p.3 one also finds a footnote in Sanskrit drawing attention to Sharma’s *Ṣoḍaśāṅgahr̥daya* (which was reviewed in *JEĀS* 4, 1995, 238f.).

Sharma is one of the leading authorities on the *Carakasamhitā*, to whose study he has devoted several decades. This work bears impressive testimony to his intimate knowledge of the text, and will definitely serve as an invaluable tool for hunting down information on specific topics in the *Carakasamhitā*. Such a work has long been a desideratum, and thus Sharma’s book must be warmly welcomed.

There are, however, some features of this work that have to be commented upon. We are, for instance, nowhere told where the individual verses or prose passages stand in the original *Carakasamhitā*. Parts which Sharma regards as mere repetitions have been left out, and in several cases the original text (seemingly basically the text of the Nirṇaya-Sāgara edition with various modifications based on other editions) has been changed ‘for clarifying the idea’ (p.22 of the introductory part; also p.17: *pāṭho yatra tatra pariśodhitah*). What exactly has been deleted or changed in individual cases is not specified, though a few examples have been given on pp.20-22 of the introductory part, from which we can see that the changes made seem in individual cases to be quite substantial and not based on manuscript evidence or the like.

Such things will surely disturb many a researcher. Indeed, if one regards Sharma’s work according to the same standards one would apply to, say, an index or an edition of the text of the *Carakasamhitā*, this would be justified. However, I do not think that such a manner of looking at it would do justice to the work. As I have already mentioned on p.219, it will probably have to be seen as a continuation of the tradition already referred to, a tradition whose primary aim is not the analysis of some individual text of the Indian medical tradition, but making the knowledge handed down from olden times more useful and easily accessible; i.e., it is the knowledge itself, and not the text

containing this, that is the main focus of interest. As such – and this too is in accord with the tradition – it is not really necessary to have recourse to an older text containing the same knowledge, but in a manner regarded as less useful. By this criterion, Sharma's work is not a mere philological tool to understand an older text, but an independent work in its own right, presenting the knowledge of this particular tradition anew. The changes Sharma has made are therefore, in this light, no "tampering", in the same manner as Vāgbhaṭa's reworking not only of the knowledge, but in many cases also of the actual words of the *Carakasamhitā*, the *Suśrutasamhitā* and other texts is no "tampering".

It must, though, be emphasised that all this is valid only if we look at the work in this light. If we view it as a tool for the analysis of the *Carakasamhitā* itself, then of course we are forced to face the fact that the characteristics mentioned above are indeed disturbing from a philological point of view.

There is a subject index at the end of the book. I also found some misprints, such as, e.g., *śarīraparimāṇavaḥ* (for *śarīraparamāṇavaḥ*, whose English equivalent is given as 'cells') on p.143.

RAHUL PETER DAS

Other Publications Received

Abraham, Z.: see Husain, Akhtar.

Arya Vaidya Sala: see Vaidyaratnam P S Varier's Arya Vaidya Sala Kottakkal.

Balasubramanian, A.V.; Radhika, M.: *Local Health Traditions: An Introduction* (LSPSS Monograph 10), 3rd reprint, Lok Swasthya Parampara Samvardhan Samithi: Madras 1994. 95 pp. Rs 60.— (for LSPSS members Rs 50.—).

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